

CECILIA VENNARD SARGENT

A STUDY OF  
THE DRAMATIC WORKS  
OF CRISTÓBAL DE VIRUÉS



INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS  
EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE




THE EGBERT STARR LIBRARY









Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2022 with funding from  
Kahle/Austin Foundation

THE DRAMATIC WORKS  
OF CRISTÓBAL DE VIRUÉS



# A STUDY OF THE DRAMATIC WORKS OF CRISTÓBAL DE VIRUÉS

BY

CECILIA VENNARD SARGENT, PH.D.

Assistant Professor of Spanish  
Wilson College



INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS  
EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS  
NEW YORK

1930

WILSON COLLEGE  
LIBRARY

4/19  
Spand

PQ

6498

V7 Z8

1930

Copyright, 1930  
by the Instituto de las Españas

Printed in the U. S. A. by  
Lancaster Press, Inc., Lancaster, Pa.

TO MY MOTHER AND MY FATHER



## PREFACE

The following study was prepared to serve as introduction to an annotated edition of the five tragedies of Virués, ready for the press when Señor Eduardo Juliá Martínez's *Poetas dramáticos valencianos* appeared, including the text of all five. Though there is no longer need for my edition, I trust that my study may be the more welcome because the plays have been already several months before the public.

I wish to express here my very deep and sincere appreciation to those who have assisted me in this task, especially to Professor Federico de Onís of Columbia University for his discriminating criticisms, timely suggestions, sympathetic support, and generosity of time and effort in the direction of the work and of the publication, and to my mother for unfailing patience in such monotonous tasks as the verification of texts and the reading of proof. I take pleasure also in acknowledging my indebtedness to the libraries of Congress, the Hispanic Museum, the University of Columbia and the University of Pennsylvania for special courtesies extended to me. It is my earnest hope that the study itself may be a satisfaction to those who have so generously contributed to its existence.

C. V. S.

WILSON COLLEGE,  
May 21, 1930.



## INDEX

	PAGE
CHAPTER I. Virués' Life and Works...	I
CHAPTER II. The Plays of Virués.....	54
CHAPTER III. Virués' Dramatic Art.....	110
Classical Tragedy.....	110
Senecan Influence.....	118
Virués' Place in the History of Spanish Drama.....	142
APPENDIX	
I. Virués' Spelling.....	156
II. Versification of the Plays.....	158
III. Bibliography.....	159



## CHAPTER I

### LIFE AND WORKS OF VIRUÉS

—De aspecto venerable,  
Aguileña nariz, enjuta cara,  
Alegre vista, gravemente afable  
Con humildad y con modestia rara;  
Blanco, rubio, dispuesto y de agradable  
Compostura, que daba muestra clara,  
En amable apariencia, ser persona  
Que de nobleza y cristiandad se abona.<sup>1</sup>

Cristóbal de Virués <sup>2</sup> was a son of Valencia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *El Monserrate*, Canto V, p. 520 in the ed. of C. Rosell in the *B. A. E.*, vol. XVII. A description of Virués himself if we may trust the word of Matías de Vargas:

Assí como en el fin del quinto canto  
Al vivo os retratáis, en la pintura  
Que del rostro, del talle y compostura  
Hacéis allí de vuestro monje santo.

fr. a sonnet published in *El Monserrate*, Madrid, 1588 and subsequent editions.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest bibliographical note on Virués is found in Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, Matriti, 1672. The first criticism of his drama is found in A. Montiano y Luyando, *Discurso sobre las tragedias españolas* (segunda impresión, Madrid, 1750). F. Bouterwek, in his *History of Spanish Literature* (1801-1819), discusses Virués' plays at some length. An extensive study involving consideration of his life, his family connections, and his reputation among contemporaries was done by A. Bonacassa in his *Discurso preliminar*, published with *El Monserrate*, cuarta impresión, Madrid, 1805. Summaries of the five tragedies, including quotations and followed by criticism, were furnished by L. F. Moratín in his *Catálogo* (*B. A. E.* vol. II). A. Schack made a

Data for the events of his life are slight. Even the dates of his birth and death <sup>1</sup> are uncertain,

searching analysis of his dramatic powers in his *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien*, Berlin, 1845-1846, and valuable criticism is found likewise in G. Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, London, 1849, and in J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, Philadelphia, 1922. One of the most important studies on Virués is *Virués' Leben und Werke*, published by E. von Münch, in *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, Zweiter Band, Berlin, 1860. He supplies many details in Virués' biography drawing upon data found in the lyrics. The other study to which constant reference must be made is found in chapter VI of H. Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, Toulouse, 1913. Other works which I have consulted in my study will be found in the *Bibliography*.

<sup>3</sup> "Querido i patrio Turia"—Virués, *Obras tragicas y liricas*, f. 214.

"Fué bien considerado tomalla de istoria de aquellos reinos de donde es V. M. natural, (siéndolo de Valencia)".—fr. the letter of Baltasar de Escobar published in *El Monserrate*, Milan, 1602.

Y en esto descubriose la grandeza  
de la escombrada playa de Valencia

.....  
Christobal de Virues se le seguia,  
con Pedro de Aguilar, junta famosa  
de las que Turia en sus riberas cria.

Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso*.

En la hermosa ciudad, que baña el Turia,  
esta memoria funebre y gloriosa  
al Capitan Virués hiciera injuria.

Lope de Vega, *Laurel de Apolo*.

<sup>1</sup> Moratín in the *Catálogo* states that Virués was born a little before 1550, but cites no authority for his statement. F. Wolf in *Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen National-literatur* credits Colón with the dates 1548-1610. Schevill and Bonilla in *La Galatea de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1914, libro IV, note on *Canto Caliope*, say dates of birth and death are unknown.

J. Cejador y Frauca, *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*, vol. II, Madrid, maintains that Virués was still living in 1614 be-

as are those of the production of his plays. He came of a family distinguishing itself in letters during his life-time. His father, Alonso, a celebrated physician<sup>1</sup> and eminent citizen, was a humanist whose merits received the approbation of his friend the great Vivés.<sup>2</sup> He seems

cause his name appears in Cervantes' *Viaje*, which mentions, as Barrera (*Catálogo*) observes, principally authors still living at the time of its composition (1613-14):

Volvió la vista, y reysteró los lazos  
en don Guillén de Castro que venía  
desseoso de verse en tales braços,  
Cristoual de Virués se le seguía,  
con Pedro de Aguilar, junta famosa  
de las que Turia en sus riberas cría.

Certainly the use of *cría* in present tense implies that they are living, and that is indeed true of the other two (Guillén de Castro died 1631), provided we assume that by *Pedro* Cervantes meant *Gaspar*, a contemporary Valencian dramatist (1561-1623). (See Merimée, pp. 488-538.) Bonilla (ed. of *Galatea*) remarks that Cervantes elsewhere speaks of a *Pedro de Aguila* (*Don Quijote*, I, 39) as "natural no sé de que lugar de Andalucia." Certainly here Cervantes is stressing the fact that the individuals in question were Valencians. Gaspar satisfies all the conditions; the use of the name *Pedro* appears a slip. If this be granted, I think it safe to assume that Virués was still living in 1614, though the general opinion has been that he died soon after the publication of *Obras*, in 1609 or 1610.

<sup>1</sup> M. Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una biblioteca*, t. II, Madrid, 1905, p. 577 and F. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos*, Madrid, 1923, pp. 443-444, cite the following, found on a fly-leaf of a copy of Juan Ángel, *Tragitriumpho*, 1523: "Hierónima Augustina Benita de Virués, filia doctoris Alphonsi Viruesii, Medici Valentini, possidet hunc librum."

<sup>2</sup> Serrano y Sanz, *Idem*, p. 578, cites an autograph of Alonso de Virués, found on a fly-leaf of a copy of Juan Ángel, *Tragitriumpho*, 1523, reading: "Messer Ángel, célebre poeta . . . ninguno le

to have inspired his children with his love of letters: his sons all followed him in adding to a profession the avocation of literature; Cristóbal, the soldier, produced the well-known *Monserate*, lyrics and the dramas that are the subject of this study; Francisco, the theologian,<sup>1</sup> and Gerónimo, the physician,<sup>2</sup> both

igualo en la lición de Virgilio; fui su discipulo del año 1527 hasta el año 1532." (Found also in Rodríguez Marín, pp. 443-444.) V. Ximeno, *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia*, Valencia, 1747, vol. I, p. 96, quotes a letter of Luis Vivés to Erasmus: "Missi ad te nuper, quae mihi erant illinc ab Alphonso Viruesio scripta. . . . Simul misit mihi Alvarus Negotiator Hispanus Epistolam Viruesii ad Minoritam quendam magnae en Hispania authoritatis ac nominis. Ea epistola circum per Hispaniam et legitur cum maxima omnium approbatione et est elegantissimé scripta nostra lingua; eam ego in Latinam converti, tantum intelligi ut abs te possit." Ximeno adds: "El mismo Luis Vivés hace mención de siete Cartas del Doctor Alonso, quatro Valencianas, y tres Latinas; y Pedro Augustín Morlá de dos obras que compuso con estos títulos—*Centuria amati lusitani de vulneribus capitis; Flores Guidonis*." Of the first of these works, it is necessary to add that it corresponds exactly to a work of Doctor Gerónimo de Virués, mentioned by Ximeno in the same volume.

<sup>1</sup> Virués' *Obras* contains a poem entitled *En la muerte del Dotor Francisco de Virues, teologo en la Santa Iglesia de Valencia*.

" Utroque affulsit divinus Apolline summo  
Splenduit et medicus, versibus et nituit.

Vicente Mariner, *Opera omnia*, Turnoni, 1633, cited by Ximeno.

Among the works of Gerónimo, Ximeno (I, 214) places *Diálogo en el qual se trata de las heridas de cabeza con el casco descubierto, donde se disputa si es mejor curar semejantes heridas con medicamentos blandos o con secos*, Valencia, 1588; this he calls the "version del que Amato Lusitano compuso en Latin." It is doubtless the same work attributed to Doctor Alonso. The date suggests that it is the work of the son rather than that of the father, and it is

wrote verse;<sup>1</sup> the latter was a member of the famous humanist society *La Academia de Nocturnos*<sup>2</sup> and translated from the Latin of significant that Justo Pastor Fuster in his *Biblioteca valenciana*, Valencia, 1827, omits the article on Alonso.

According to Ximeno, in a discourse on medicine, given before the *Academia de los Nocturnos*, Gerónimo himself mentioned as a former work of his a *Syphilis traducida*.

<sup>1</sup> Vicente Tárrega, *Relacion de las fiestas que el Arçobispo y Cabildo de Valencia hizieron en la translacion de la Reliquia del glorioso S. Vincente Ferrer a este santo Templo*, Valencia, 1600, contains two poems, a *Romance*, and *Las fuerças de Hercules*, by Dotor Virués, and two others, one a sonnet, by Doctor Virués. Ximeno (I, 214) cites these under Jerónimo; Pastor Fuster includes the citation under both Jerónimo and Cristóbal. Ximeno states that Aguila Gaspar, *Libro de las fiestas nupciales de Felipe III*, 1599, contains 2 sonnets by a Dotor Virués, one to the King and one to the Infanta. Pastor Fuster remarks that the book is not edited and copies one of these sonnets in full, p. 192. He also mentions, without quotation, other books in which appear poems by Gerónimo. I have not been able to examine them. *El Monserrate* contains a poem by el Dotor Gerónimo de Virués, addressed to the readers.

Serrano y Sanz, vol. II, p. 578, quotes from verses and glosas of all three brothers.

<sup>2</sup> Ximeno (I, 214) prints the following list of works attributed to Gerónimo de Virués in the *Academia de los Nocturnos*:

1. Disputando qual es la más provechoso para la república, el estudio de las letras, o el estudio de las armas.

2. Disputando qual es más fuerte, el Rey, el vino, la mujer o la verdad.

3. Alabando la medicina.

4. Qual sea la cosa de más provecho para el hombre en esta vida, el ser bien afortunado o el ser sabio.

5. Alabando la cólera.

6. Probando que los pobres son más liberales que los ricos.

Hurtado y Palencia, *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1922, mention, among the works of the *Academia de los Nocturnos*,

Amato Lusitano the *Diálogo en la qual se trata de las heridas de cabezas*. Even the sister, Gerónima Augustina Benita, is known to posterity as a Latin student.<sup>1</sup>

Of the education that Cristóbal received we can judge only from his work. That would indicate that the friend of Vivés who speaks with pride of his five years of Vergil study under a great master, had not neglected the classical instruction of his son Cristóbal. At least two of his plays, *Elisa Dido* and *La gran Semíramis*, are drawn from classic historians, and a third, *Atila furioso*, shows acquaintance with the content of Latin writers though he may not have read them in the original.<sup>2</sup> Even the form in which he cast his plays reflects his strong bent toward classic models. Further evidence of the influence of Latin studies is found in his choice of the epic form for the masterpiece that brought him lasting recogni-

a translation in verse by J. Virués,—*Intermissa Venus*. For a discussion of the *Academia de los Nocturnos*, see H. Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, Toulouse, 1913, pp. 406-08.

<sup>1</sup> "Hierónima Augustina Benita de Virués, filia doctoris Alphonsi Viruesii" cited above. Also, Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes*, p. 577 and Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos Datos*, pp. 443-444, an autographed letter of Hierónima de Virués, Valencia, 1571: "pero por estar mis padres con enojo por no saber de cristobal mi hermano que se ha hallado en esta jornada no se les oso demandar liçençia." Ximeno is the first to attribute to her a knowledge of Latin; I have not located a contemporary source for his statement.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter II, *Sources of Semíramis, Dido, Atila*.

tion,—*El Monserrate*. As to the familiarity with Italian language and literature revealed in his plays and other poetry,<sup>1</sup> that may have been acquired during his long residence in Italy. For his profession of arms caused him to spend the greater part of his adult life in that country, as a careful study of his lyrics discloses.<sup>2</sup>

We are here confronted by the question: what attracted Virués to a military career? His father and brothers were professional men, and he himself a writer whose poems reflect far less the spirit of a happy warrior than that of a homesick poet longing for the peace and leisure so desirable for writing. What then drew him into the army?

There have been no discoveries unlocking to us the homely incidents of Virués' childhood and youth, but of the experiences which he must have had in common with his contemporaries we may be reasonably confident. One

<sup>1</sup> For plot of *Marcela* from Ariosto see Chapter II, *Source of Marcela*. For familiarity with Italian poets, note in *Obras* a poem entitled *Tasso en su Ierusalem*, two sonnets in Italian, *A Baltasar*, and *Respuesta*, and in Cristóbal Moreno, *Iornadas para el Cielo*, a poem in which each stanza closes with a line from Petrarch, Dante or Ariosto, whose names are recorded in the margin, as is the name of Petrarch in the poem *A Juan Hurtado de Guevara* (*Obras*) where a recurring line of his serves as refrain. Concepts from Petrarch, sufficiently stereotyped, however, to be second-hand, appear in the tragedies, as in *Sem.* I, 21, II, 549; *Dido* V, 319.

<sup>2</sup> Münch, pp. 139-163, includes examination of the lyrics for the light they throw on Virués' life.

of these undoubtedly was the discussion of the Turkish question. The years 1520-1566 marked a startling advance of the Ottoman Empire; under Solyman the Magnificent it gained wide mastery in the Mediterranean, despoiling Venice of her possessions in the Morrea and the Archipelago, and taking to itself Tripoli and Austrian holdings. This Mohammedan encroachment was hotly contested by allied Christian forces. Álvaro de Bazán led an expedition which in 1564 compelled the King of Algiers to raise his siege of Mazalquivir; in 1565 García de Toledo, the Spanish Viceroy at Naples, organized two expeditions which forced the Turks to withdraw their fleet from the siege of Malta.<sup>1</sup> The Turk, however, was nothing daunted by these set-backs; following the example of Solyman the Magnificent, Selim now took measures to seize Cyprus. Venice, facing another loss, appealed to Pope Pius V. The Pope invited Spain to join in concentrated effort against this alarming menace.

Virués must have been a lad in his teens—not more than seventeen—when the following letters were exchanged between Pope Pius V and Philip II:

(Para esto excriuio a don Filipe) ser la confederacion necessaria para defensa de su Monarquia, y tocarle

<sup>1</sup> R. Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España*, Barcelona, 1913, t. III, p. 73.

a su grandeza hazer la guerra al Turco, demas del oficio de Catolico Rey, por ser Principe puesto en tan gran Imperio, y assi le pedia gustasse de entrar en Liga defensiua y ofensiua con el, y la Republica de Venecia contra el Turco, y sus Reynos tributarios Argel, Tunez, y Tripol. Para este efecto embiasse Embaxadores a Roma con libre poder, o le diesse a los que por su parte tenia en ella, pero que por ser la negociacion no de las ordinarias, y pedir tiempo largo para tratarse, Selin dar demasiado calor a la guerra contra Cypro, y estar para salir su poderosa armada, se siruiesse de amparar los Venecianos como el y Malta lo hazian: y para esto ordenasse a los Generales de su galeras de Italia se recogiesen luego a Mecina en ayuda de aquella Republica, y mandasse a los Virreyes de Napoles y Sicilia les diessen por su dinero libremente vitualla, y municiones para su prouision y armamento.

(El Rey loada la piedad y solicitud del Pontifice, con su modestia ordinaria, respondio:) Seguiria contra el comun enemigo la voluntad y orden de su Santidad, por la reuerencia que le tenia y aficion a toda la Christiandad; a la qual jamas desampararia con las fuerças que Dios le auia dado: mas aunque deseaua satisfazerle desde luego con el efecto de la Liga, por estar ocupado y repartido su poder en Granada y Flandres en dos guerras por respeto de la Religion, conuenia mirarlo, mas entretanto estuiesse cierto de su buen animo porque la peticion de su Santidad tenia para con el fuerça de mandato, y en fe desta verdad mandaria luego a sus Virreyes y a Juan Andrea Doria socorrer a Venecia, y les embiaria para ello amplias comisiones.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. Vander Hammen y León, *Don Filipe el Prudente segundo*, Madrid, 1625, fol. 45.

It is not hard to judge the effect of such proceedings upon a boy steeped in the traditions of the seven hundred years' struggle on home soil against the infidel. Stories heard in his childhood from the lips of gray-haired veterans of Granada itself, in whom patriotism and religion had crystallized into the determination to vanquish every enemy of the Church, may well have had a share in forming the emotions which eventually threw the boy into the ranks of the belated Spanish Crusade<sup>1</sup> led by the idolized Don Juan of Austria, fresh from subduing the Moriscos in Valencia. Virués was a poet and idealist; it is little wonder that he was found with Spain's master idealist in the forefront at Lepanto.<sup>2</sup> A stirring *Egloga* (fol. 233-249), far more impressive than the description in the *Monserrate*,<sup>3</sup> bears eloquent witness to his experience there:

<sup>1</sup> This popular conception of the expedition is well reflected in the following lines taken from Virués' *Monserrate*:

Para ver su estandarte enarbolado  
En la grande ciudad de Constantino  
Y librar el Sepulcro y Santa Tierra  
Del cautiverio injusto y larga guerra.

<sup>2</sup> Lepanto is the *jornada* referred to in his sister's letter cited above.

<sup>3</sup> Canto IV. *El Monserrate* may be read in *B. A. E.*, vol. XVII. His personal participation is indicated in the lines

¡Oh si a mi pluma concediera el cielo  
En esto lo que en vella a mi persona! . . .  
la victoria mayor que el mundo sabe.

Ya es todo fuego i humo el aire i cielo,  
ya el son de las trompetas i clarines.

fol. 246, p. 1.

.....  
Rumores, alaridos, bozes fieras,  
clamores por el aire ressonaron,  
el cual, herido de las balas, brama  
entre el humo, las flechas i la llama.

La luz escureció la nube espessa,  
el ancho mar se rebolvió alterado,  
aturde el son que con terrible priessa  
se forma en el metal duro i templado;  
quien a cual con la flecha le atraviessa,  
i quien es de una bala traspasado,  
quien en el hondo mar se arroja ardiendo,  
i quien trabaja por matar muriendo.

fol. 246, p. 2.

.....  
El mar en espumosa sangre buelto  
con la mísera gente yerve i crece,  
i de los cuerpos con furor rebuelto,  
las galeras detiene i entorpece.

fol. 247, p. 1.

The poet shudders at the effect of war upon  
men. Horrors

tragavan los sentidos i las mentes.

fol. 247, p. 1.

.....  
La grande orror i miedo  
son cosas que dezillas yo no puedo.

fol. 248, p. 1.

Evidently he received a wound, for in summing  
up the losses sustained by both sides he writes

tres mil cristianos *fuimos* los heridos.

fol. 248, p. 2.

He was probably not seriously disabled, for the following year, continuing with the troops of D. Juan, he participated in a second skirmish with the Turks,<sup>1</sup> recorded with evident disappointment that the victory was not more decisive:

Escaramuças, sitio, batería,  
máquinas, i otras grandes diligencias  
a avido en Navarín, con diferencias  
que en varios pechos vario tiempo cría.

A punto estar de verse otro gran día  
como el de antaño, i en sus aparencias  
mayor, si uviera las correspondencias  
que el enemigo bravo prometía.

No faltó por el de Austria valeroso,  
ni por alguno del cristiano vando;  
el Turco retirósse temeroso,

en cuya fe el Baçán valiente, osando,  
una galera acometió furioso,  
i rendida la traxo remolcando.

fol. 249, p. 2.

The breaking up of the League and the Spanish difficulties in Holland caused Felipe II to order D. Juan to retire to Tunis, whither Virués followed, rendering in verse an account of the battle<sup>2</sup> which took place there 1573:

<sup>1</sup> Jacobi Augusti Thuani *Historiarum Sui Temporis*, vol. III, liber LIV, cap. xxiv. For other authorities, see Münch.

<sup>2</sup> An account of the battle of Tunis is also found in Thuanus, liber LV, cap. ii. Other authorities are cited by Münch. Cervantes refers to both these battles in his *Información al Presidente del Consejo de Indias*, published in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* (Número extraordinario en conmemoración del centenario de Quijote), Madrid, May 1905, pp. 344-345:

Aquí, Señor, donde a la gran Cartago  
emula sucedió Tunez hermosa,  
la Armada de Filipe poderosa  
hinche de gente el monte, el llano, el lago.

Teme el injusto Turco el justo estrago,  
desampara con fuga vergonçosa  
la Alcaçaua Real i a la espantosa  
furia de Marte dexa el pueblo en pago.

Él huye i desampara sus haziendas;  
entra el famoso exército de España  
Don Juan de Austria Africano apellidando,  
i él, con justas i fáciles enmiendas,  
clemencias i justicias acompaña,  
i buelve amigo al enemigo vando.

fol. 250, p. 1.

In 1576 D. Juan's activities were diverted from Turk to Protestant, for he was sent into the Netherlands to act as governor and to stem the rising tide of unrest there. Virués did not follow his chief into Flanders,<sup>1</sup> but he too left the navy and was apparently transferred to the land forces occupying Italy.<sup>2</sup> He remained many years in this service.

"Miguel de çerbantes sahauedra dice que ha seruido a V. M. muchos años . . . particularmente en la Batalla Nual donde le dieron muchas heridas de las cuales perdio una mano de vn arcabuçado . . . y al año siguiente fué a Nauarino y despues a la de Tunez y a la goleta . . . a 21 de Mayo 1590."

<sup>1</sup> Had he gone to Flanders at this time, such an experience would certainly have strayed into his verse.

<sup>2</sup> Münch reaches this conclusion, citing numerous poems involving Italian place names prominent in Spanish military operations, as Brindis (fol. 260), Barleta (fol. 262, p. 2), Venice (fol. 204, p. 2), Naples (fol. 228, p. 1), Milan (fol. 228, p. 1), Abruzzza and Romagna (fol. 228, p. 2).

These were the years of his greatest literary activity; like Julius Caesar and Alonso de Ercilla he was then

escribiendo en la guerra aquella suma,  
tomando ya la espada, ya la pluma.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1579 and 1590 he wrote his five dramas,<sup>2</sup> his famous epic *El Monserrate*<sup>3</sup> and some, at least, of the lyrics.<sup>4</sup> The tragedies

<sup>1</sup> Lope de Vega, *Laurel de Apolo*, Silva IV.

<sup>2</sup> Moratín without citing authorities puts the composition of the plays 1579-81; Ticknor and Münch follow Moratín in these dates; Schack, Wolf and Creizenach say 1580-90; Merimée gives 1580-86; Crawford, 1580-85.

<sup>3</sup> Four nineteenth century editions bear witness to its lasting popularity: *El Monserrate, quarta impresión añadida y mejorada*, Madrid, 1805; *Fragmentos del Monserrate* in the collection by M. J. Quintana entitled *Poesías selectas castellanas, seg. Parte*, 1833; *Historia del Monserrate*, in *B. A. E.*, vol. XVII, 1849; *El Monserrate Segundo*, edición económica, Barcelona, 1884.

<sup>4</sup> Comparatively few of the lyrics of the *Obras* are accessible outside of the original edition. The largest number are found in J. N. Böhl de Faber, *Floresta de rimas antiguas castellanas*, vol. III, Hamburg, 1821, numbers 772-781. Adolfo de Castro, *Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI-XVII* (*B. A. E.*, vol. XLII) uses but a single sonnet of Virués—one already given in the *Floresta*—*Digo que las paredes han oídos*. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, vol. IV, no. 4341, copies from the *Obras*, *Soneto a Eneas*, *Letra*, *Canción a una doncella*, *Cupido*. Münch has quoted in his *Leben und Werken* many of the lyrics bearing on Virués' life, and still more are contained in the present volume.

A few lyrics not included in the *Obras* have survived. A *Soneto al Rey* published in Cristóbal Moreno, *Libro entitulado Iornadas para el Cielo* may be read in J. C. García, *Ensayo*, Madrid, 1889. Other verses of Virués from the same book are copied in full by Bonacassa in his *Discurso preliminar*. Serrano y Sainz, *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritores españoles*, t. II, p. 578,

were not published for many years,<sup>1</sup> but they apparently became well known, perhaps by

quotes from a *Glosa de Christoual de Virués Al misterio de la Encarnacion* and a *Soneto a Monserrate*. Barrera, *Catálogo*, states that Tárrega in his *Relacion* includes poems by Cristóbal de Virués. But Ximeno and Pastor Fuster had already attributed to his brother Gerónimo the *romance*, sonnets and octaves found on pages 32, 75, 139 and 259 of Tárrega's *Relacion*, and since these poems are there ascribed to *Dotor Virués* and Cristóbal's regular title is *capitán*, it seems unlikely that they can be the latter's work. (N. B. Pastor Fuster, *Biblioteca valenciana*, vol. I, p. 205, attributes to Cristóbal the poems he has attributed on page 192 to Gerónimo.)

<sup>1</sup> *Obras tragicas y liricas del Capitan Cristoual de Virués*, Madrid, 1609, is generally assumed to be the *editio princeps*. It is mentioned as early as 1672 by Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, vol. I. Bonacassa, *Discurso preliminar al Monserrate, cuarta impresión*, Madrid, 1805, calls attention to the *Aprouacion i licencias* de Milan, San Fidel, June 26, 1604, printed in the edition of Madrid 1609, and suggests the possibility of this edition being a reprint of a previous one in Milan. Münch also refers to the possibility of such an edition, "of whose existence there is not the slightest trace." P. Salvá, *Catálogo*, Valencia, 1872, on the same grounds ventures the conjecture that there was a Milan edition in 1604 or soon after. A. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual de librero hispano-americano*, London, Barcelona, Paris, 1927, recalls this suspicion of Salvá, but states that up to the present no copies have been found to justify it. The circumstances which interfered with the publication of the *Obras* in Milan after the licences had been procured and the reasons for incorporating the Italian *licencias* in the Madrid edition, are discussed on page 24. Furthermore the *Obras* bear no indication of previous publication, whereas the re-editions of the *Monserrate* brought out within the life-time of Virués, are noted as such: *El Monserrate Segundo*, *El Monserrate del Capitán de Virués . . . tercera impression*. An edition of *La gran Semíramis* was made in 1858, and all five plays may now be read in E. Juliá's *Poetas dramáticos valencianos*, Madrid, 1929.

actual production on the stage,<sup>1</sup> for they soon established his reputation in the literary world, as comments of his great contemporaries indicate.<sup>2</sup> The publication of *El Monserrate*,

<sup>1</sup> A. Schack, *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático de España*, tr. de E. Mier, Madrid, 1885, p. 550 states: "Las últimas contienen cinco tragedias, que, si bien se imprimieron más tarde, aparecieron ya en el teatro de 1580 a 1590 y formaron en él época." Statements like the following, taken from the *Prólogo* to *Atila Furioso*, would seem to imply not only that the plays were written with the intention of being played, but also the character of the audience before whom previous plays of Virués had been given:

Sólo pido el silencio acostumbrado;  
aunque pedirle en tan ilustre parte,  
también pues es tan cierto, es escusado.

<sup>2</sup> Christoual de Virués, pues se adelanta  
tu sciencia y tu valor tan a tus años,  
tu mesmo aquel ingenio y virtud canta  
con que huyes del mundo los engaños.  
Tierna, dichosa y bien nascida planta,  
yo hare que en propios reynos y en estraños  
el fruto de tu ingenio leuantado  
se conozca, se admire y sea estimado.

Cervantes, *Galatea*, libro VI, *Canto a Caliope*.

Though drama is not here specified, it must be the tragedies which are meant, since the first edition of the epic is later than the first edition of the *Galetea* (Madrid, 1585).

El Capitán Virues, insigne ingenio,  
puso en tres actos la Comedia, que antes  
andaba en quatro, como pies de niño,  
que eran entonces niñas las comedias.

Lope de Vega, *Arte Nuevo*.

Though we may quarrel with the critical sense of these masters of creative art, we cannot deny their significance as reflecting the consensus of opinion of their day. This opinion must have been fairly steady, for writing in 1630, forty-five years after Cervantes' eulogy, Lope wrote:

possibly during a leave of absence spent in Spain,<sup>1</sup> won him even greater recognition.<sup>2</sup> Its immediate popularity necessitated at least two new editions in the decade following its first appearance.<sup>3</sup>

¡O ingenio singular! en paz reposa,  
a quien las Musas Comicas debieron  
los mejores principios que tuvieron.  
Celebradas Tragedias escribiste.

Lope de Vega, *Laurel de Apolo*, Silva IV.

<sup>1</sup> "Parece indudable su residencia en España mediado ya el año de 1586, época en que dispuso para la imprenta su célebre poema *El Monserrate*."—Barrera.

<sup>2</sup> Cristoual de Virues, por cuyo lindo  
Monserrate he trocado Apolo el Pindar.  
Cristóbal de Mesa, *La Restauracion de España*, Madrid, 1607, libro X.

Que me place, respondió el barbero; y aqui vienen tres, todos juntos: *La Araucana* de don Alonso de Ercilla; *La Austriada* de Juan Rufo; *El Monserrate* de Cristobal de Virues, poeta Valenciano. Todos tres libros, dijo el cura, son los mejores que en verso heróico en lengua castellana están escritos, y pueden competir con los mas famosos de Italia: guardense como las mas ricas prendas de poesia que tiene España.

Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, Parte I, cap. 6.

Sacro Parnasso a Monserrate hiciste  
escribiendo en la guerra aquella suma,  
tomando ya la espada, ya la pluma.

Lope de Vega, *Laurel de Apolo*, Silva IV.

<sup>3</sup> There are notices of the following editions while Virués was yet living: *El Monserrate*, Madrid, 1587; Madrid, 1588; Madrid, 1601; *El Monserrate Segundo*, Milan, 1602; *El Monserrate . . . tercera impression añadida y notablemente mejorada*, Madrid, 1609.

It is probable that there is re-duplication here; that the editions of 1587 and 1588 are actually only one, and that the 1601 edition never existed. The 1587 edition was long questioned. The fact that Nicolás Antonio cited an edition of 1587 but none of 1588 suggests that he recorded the date 1587 given on the final page of the edition whose title page bears the date 1588. Ximeno perhaps

This success must have been very gratifying to Virués, who was not without dreams of literary glory: like Horace he confidently

repeated Antonio in this. Bonacassa corrected the date he found 1587 in Antonio and Ximeno to 1588; Rosell and Münch followed him in insistence upon 1588 as date of the first edition; and 1588 is the date also of the earliest edition recorded by Gallardo. However, C. Pérez Pastor (*Bibliografía madrileña*, Madrid, 1891-97) settled that question by reporting that both are in the Biblioteca Nacional, by copying the *portadas* of both and by commenting upon the complete similarity except for date. Palau y Dulcet likewise gives 1587 as date of the "primera edición" and adds: "Corren ejemplos iguales con cambio de portada y fecha de 1588." The last page notice of the edition bearing the date 1588 on the title page, indicates that publication was complete in 1587, probably at the date of the *Tassa*, December 11th. It may be that a limited number of copies were run off before the new year, and the title page changed for completing the edition before the type was taken down. Virués himself evidently regarded this as a single edition, for later ones are entitled *El Monserrate Segundo* and *tercera impression*. Furthermore, in the edition of Madrid 1609 we read

Cartas de Baltasar de Escobar, sobre este libro quando se imprimió la primera vez el año de 1588.

Though the edition of Madrid 1601 has been cited by many authorities, there are circumstances that make one hesitate to give it as a certainty. No authority citing it gives its location, or definitely states that he himself has seen it, or gives the *portada*. The original notice of this edition goes back to Antonio; it would appear that Ximeno, Bonacassa, Rosell and C. Barrera (*Catálogo*, Madrid, 1860) have followed what may have been an error on his part. Barrera's comment is—"Es reimpresión y creo que lleva añadida la carta de Escobar." The first statement implies that he examined the edition himself; on the other hand *creo* awakens doubt as does the fact that he cites the 1609 Madrid edition under the title *El Monserrate Segundo*. Pérez Pastor definitely attributes his acquaintance with this edition to "Jimeno, *Escritores del reino de Valencia*." Palau y Dulcet remarks: "Varios bibliografos

expected his verse to bring immortality to the friends it praised:

Essos papeles ved de un siervo vuestro  
a quien Apolo i Marte an hecho osado.

.....

Procuraré que vuestro nombre solo  
la eroica fama en sus mil lenguas lleve  
de gente en gente de uno en otro Polo.

fol. 275, p. 2.

Another personal triumph occurring at about the same time was his promotion to the rank of captain.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile public events claimed his interest. Child of his age, participating in its prejudices as well as in its extravagant enthusiasms, an idealist who as a youth had thrown in his lot with the defenders of the Church against the Turks, he was no less deeply moved by the menace of Protestantism. The following lines

han citado Madrid 1601 pero jamás hemos visto semejante tirada." P. Salvá casts doubt on its existence in the expression "y caso de existir." If there was indeed a "segunda edición en Madrid el año de 1601" (Barrera), why was the Milan edition of the following year called by its author *El Monserrate Segundo*, and the next edition, Madrid 1609, *tercera impresión*?

My conclusion is that the early editions of which we can speak with assurance are the first, *El Monserrate*, of which some copies bear 1587, some 1588 on the title page; the second, *El Monserrate Segundo*, Milan, 1602; and the third, *El Monserrate . . . tercera impresión*, Madrid, 1609.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the title pages: *El Monserrate* de Cristoval de Virues, Madrid, 1588; *El Monserrate Segundo* del Capitan Cristoual de Virues, Milan, 1602.

*Al Rey Felipe* are the product of the circumstances which gave rise to the preparation of the famous Invincible Armada, sent against England in 1588:

Monarca invito de la invita España,  
atento aguarda el fin que se pretende  
del pueblo infiel, sacrílego i profano  
que un tiempo santo nombre dió a Bretaña.

Una muger le engaña,  
(¡miseria extrema!) una muger infame  
al triste tiraniza i avassalla,  
.....llámalla  
ira de Dios.....  
nombre será más propio i más conforme.

Tú, Católico Rei, tú, justo i pío  
defensor de la fe divina i santa,  
tú, fiel amparo de la madre Roma,  
oponte fuerte al sedicioso brío  
que con soberbia indomita levanta  
montes de error, i aquella furia doma.  
Toma tu espada, i toma  
tu escudo, i con aquella da el castigo  
al rebelde que tanto lo merece,  
i con éste defiende al cristianismo.  
Mira que crece el áspero enemigo  
i que con él nuestra miseria crece,  
menguando la frecuencia del batismo.  
Hazlo, señor, por Dios, i por tí mismo. . . .  
¿Qué será ver entonces? ¡O dichosos  
o del Cielo altamente regalados  
los que en tal tiempo abitaréis la tierra!  
¿qué será ver los Citas rigurosos,  
los Arabes, los Chinos no domados,  
i al fin cuantos el ancho mundo encierra,  
olvidada la guerra,

bivir en regalada paz suave,  
 sujetos al santísimo gobierno,  
 no como siervos, como dulces hijos,  
 de aquel que tiene la maestra llave  
 de la alta puerta del Palacio eterno?

.....  
 I allí tu espada corte  
 de raíz la mortífera semilla

.....  
 i de allí, con gloriosa maravilla  
 buele tu cetro con tu justa espada,  
 para los pueblos barbaros i estraños,  
 i en todo a todos saque de sus daños.

fol. 207-9.

The expedition sent against England, 1588, and the aid sent against the French in Savoy, 1593, weakened the Spanish forces in Italy; great consternation was felt at rumors of a Turkish fleet coming from Constantinople. In order to guard as completely as possible against this menace, the Spanish Viceroy in Naples, Juan de Zuñiga, Count of Miranda, caused to be provided with men and ammunition the places most exposed,—among those mentioned are the castles of Brindisi and Taranto,<sup>1</sup> both of which we shall find figured in Virués' military experiences. Notable among the difficulties with which the viceroy had to contend were the robber bands that infested the country, under the leadership of a certain Marco Sciarra, a native of Abruzzo, who had under his control

<sup>1</sup> P. Giannone, *Dell' Istoria Civile*, libro XXXIV, cap. v.

some 600 bandits and kept in correspondence with others in the territories of the Pope. This self-styled "king of Campagna" enjoyed the protection of his countrymen, either because of his own popularity, or because of the fear he inspired, or because of the hatred for the marauding soldiers sent to exterminate him. The Count of Miranda and Pope Sixtus V joined in an agreement, 1588, to rid the country of this evil, but mutual jealousy and suspicion tended to prolong the scandal. The unsuccessful attempt of 4000 soldiers under Carlo Spinelli, 1590, served only to embolden still further the audacious Sciarra. It is probably this encounter to which Virués refers in the following sonnet where *Sciarra* appears in the Spanish form *Xarra*:

Con bandera tendida, la campaña  
(nombrándose Rei della) Xarra corre,  
Xarra, un ladrón que se averhuença i corre  
de estar sujeto a la nación de España.

Con dos mil el rebelde se acompaña,  
a cavallo los más, i le socorre  
Abruçã, donde casa no ai ni torre  
que no le acoja con caricia estraña.

Ponçonoso animal assí en el seno  
acoe alguno, i él le da la muerte  
que merecida es justo que se llame.

De espanto i miedo tuvo el Reino lleno;  
a punto estuvo de trocar su suerte;  
sangre sacóme esta canalla infame.

fol. 260, p. 1.

In time Sciarra's power was broken; Pope Clement VIII sent Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini against him, and the Viceroy sent Adriano Acquaviva, Count of Conversano. The latter won over the people by quartering his troops in uninhabited spots, thus weakening Sciarra. Finally Aldobrandini succeeded in buying over Baltimello, an associate of Sciarra, who treacherously murdered the bold chieftain whose strategies had for seven years baffled the generals of Rome and Spain.<sup>1</sup>

Another romantic character of the day who likewise figures among the lyrics is the renegade Scipio Cigala, an Italian captured by the Turks, whom he later led in many engagements against his former countrymen. In September 1599, in response to the invitation of Tommaso Campanella, a revolutionary who was stirring up rebellion against the government of the newly arrived viceroy, the Count of Lemos, Cigala appeared off Cape Stilo with thirty galleys. The conspiracy had, however, been discovered and measures taken to break it up, so Cigala retired to St. John's Bay and left. In 1602 he devastated Rheggio, taking many prisoners, and disregarding the prayers of his mother and brother, who implored him to give up his prosperous but evil career and return to the

<sup>1</sup> For story of Sciarra see Giannone, libro XXXIV, cap. v. For other authorities see Münch.

faith of his fathers.<sup>1</sup> Evidently Virués had in Brindisi the satisfaction of seeing one of his depredatory raids checked.

A Brindis con la Armada viene ufano  
el general Cigala, con intento  
de executar aquel furor violento  
que en Rijoles mostró su inica mano.

Pero fué su infernal disinio vano,  
que diónos el favor del cielo aliento  
con que en miedo trocó el atrevimiento  
de emprender lo que tuvo por mui llano.

O Cigala, ¿qué emprendes? ¿de qué tratas?  
¿tan fieras i inumanas ambiciones  
te ofuscan tanto el seso i la prudencia  
que despueyas<sup>2</sup> con obras tan ingratas  
de tu madre las santas oraciones  
i de la Madre Roma, la obediencia?

fol. 260, p. 2.

Meantime the popularity of *El Monserrate* now made advisable a new edition. This Virués brought out in Milan, 1602, under the title *El Monserrate Segundo*. Apparently he planned to have the plays and lyrics also published in Milan, for on June 26, 1604, he obtained there the *Aprobación i licencias*.<sup>3</sup> However the publication of a book involved

<sup>1</sup> For story of Cigala see Giannone, libro XXXV, cap. 1, and Thuanus, liber CXXVI, cap. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *despueyas* is Münch's reading for *después* of the original.

<sup>3</sup> Evidently the foreign approbation lent a book greater authority and prestige, or protected it in the foreign city, for the 1609 Spanish edition of *El Monserrate* likewise bears the Milan approbation which appeared in the 1602 Italian edition.

much red tape, and covered several months' time,<sup>1</sup> and a series of circumstances prevented his carrying out the plans for publication at Milan. For in the August following the June of the approbation he received orders to lead his troops out from Milan to Flanders to aid in the siege of Ostend; hardly was he settled in Italy again when the order came for a second expedition—this time in winter. And in the following August he joined the unsuccessful naval engagement of Don Álvaro de Bazán at Tunis.<sup>2</sup> Hence instead of completing arrangements for the publication of his *Obras* he was engaged in collecting material to add to them. His experiences on the expedition to Flanders are related in a letter to his brother Gerónimo,<sup>3</sup> which forms one of the most pleasing poems of the collection. To judge from his letter, signed

de Milan i de Iunio a diez i siete,  
mil i seiscientos años sobre cinco,  
su Cristoval, su ermano verdadero,

fol. 273, p. 2.

this was one of the most interesting, though

<sup>1</sup> Even assuming that the Milan edition of the *Monserate* appeared in January of 1602, its publication covers a minimum of three months.

<sup>2</sup> Thuanus, liber CXXXIX, cap. ix.

<sup>3</sup> This poem may be read in Böhl de Faber's *Floresta de Rimas*. See Münch, pp. 154-7, for criticism of the changes Böhl de Faber introduces.

most hazardous, of Virués' military adventures. The early part of his career had been filled with travel, variety and excitement; military service in Italy must have been deadly dull if we may judge from his verse. Evidently he had looked forward to being sent up to Flanders, for the following note to his brother testifies to a very real disappointment in being left behind when the first troops departed:

Parte, ermano i señor, nuestro famoso  
i eróico Borja a Flandes con su gente;  
divino onor i umano en fuego ardiente  
le inflama el fuerte pecho i generoso.

.....

Yo quedo triste sin poder seguille  
(como esperava) con los que siguieron  
desde Aragón hasta Milan mis passos.

Porque mi suerte los cortó, dezille  
apenas pude a Dios; siempre assí fueron  
cortos mis bienes, como veis, i escassos.

fol. 268, p. 1.

The following lines suggest a reason:

Veo banderas tremolando al viento  
llevar tras sí la valerosa gente  
entre quien yo con corazón ardiente  
iva gozoso de mi pensamiento.

Fiero mal que estorbaste mi alto intento,  
aunque mortal angustia el cuerpo siente,  
más sin comparación que tu accidente  
vellas partir i yo quedarme siento.

O banderas alegres, que tan tristes  
son a mis ojos vuestros visos claros

de empresas i colores variadas,  
aunque tal me dexastes i os partistes,  
mil alas me pondré para alcançaros  
si crecen las que aora están cortadas.

fol. 276, p. 1.

At length, however, came the coveted order to set out; he begins his letter:

Anle dicho verdad, señor Ermano,  
en que llevé una tropa de la gente  
que al gran sitio de Ostende passó a Flandes  
por los fieros cantones de suiços;  
i no me culpe de no averlo escrito  
por averlo estorvado urgentes causas.

fol. 269, p. 1.

The letter goes on to describe how eight troops of two thousand men divided into eighteen companies made the journey:

Por Agosto partió de Lombardia  
la gente dicha en las ya dichas tropas  
por la puente de Treça, que es la parte  
por do desagua de Lugán el lago.  
Adonde los cantones y los montes  
principio tienen, por allí le dimos  
al viaje jamás otra vez hecho  
por Española gente en forma alguna.

Especially vivid is his description of the mountain stream which they kept to their left as leaving Belinzona they proceeded up the valley to Polegio and Feit:

El ancho río  
va por el ancho valle discurriendo,  
i a un lado i otro las montañas altas,  
donde a penas se veen peñas ni tierra,  
tal es de plantas la espessura en ellas.

Then they came to impetuous mountain streams:

Mirando aquel camino que se passa  
a manos hecho en los peñascos bivos  
con diez puentes por donde se atraviessa  
el mismo río en forma no de río,  
montes son de agua los que entre estos montes  
despeñándose baxan reduzidos  
en espuma más blanca que la nieve;  
cristales o diamantes reduzidos  
en harina parecen, levantada  
tan alto en buelo i esparzida tanto  
que a las cumbres altísimas se buelve  
rociando los árboles i yervas  
i umedeciendo en largo trecho el aire  
con tal velocidad, con tanta priessa,  
con tal furor que ecede al pensamiento.

fol. 270, p. 1.

The spontaneity of such first-hand description forms a striking contrast to the rather charming but distinctly stereotyped tone of such passages as the following:

Salga del mar el Alva alegre i clara  
fragantes flores esparziendo i rosas  
ante la luz de la Febea cara;  
restituya el color a las hermosas  
i ricas obras de Naturaleza  
derramando las sombras tenebrosas;  
celebren su venida i su belleza  
las aves con dulcísima armonía  
i muestre alegre el mundo su riqueza.

fol. 213, p. 1-2.

Virués, loyal disciple of the classics, face to

face with the beauties and rigors of inexorable nature, recognized with all the fervor of a romantic the transcending poetry of his experiences in the mountains.

Si al cielo levantáis la vista, el monte  
cuya alta cumbre divisáis a penas  
ya ya parece que se os cae encima;  
si miráis al profundo del arroyo  
que la vista se os lleva como un rayo  
i os turba i os confunde los sentidos,  
ya ya os parece que al infierno os hunde.  
Si al camino miráis estrecho, enyesto,  
desigual, en la peña fabricado,  
impossible os parece que déis passo  
sin que déis el cavallo i vos de ojos.

Awe inspires humility, and worship:

Es espanto i orror lleno de un gusto  
contemplativo que regala el alma  
entre las obras del eterno obrero.

.....

no ai mano  
con pinzel o con pluma, ni ai ingenio  
con arte o ciencia que pintarlo pueda.

.....

Al hazedor loar eternamente,  
adorarle en sus obras admirables,  
temerle, amarle como Dios i Padre  
puede i deve el más sabio; i si se atreve  
a pintar o escribir sus maravillas  
sólo con este fin santo se atreve.

When he at length sat down to write the belated letter describing his travels, he of course

turned to poetry as the natural medium of expression. And his impression was so vivid, his reaction so genuine and sincere, that he threw aside the pretty borrowed figures under which he, in common with other poets of his day, usually masked descriptions, and burst forth into pictures which are simple, direct presentations of realities still speaking immediately to his consciousness. Ticknor finds the result one of the first successful attempts of the Spaniard in descriptive poetry.<sup>1</sup> To one interested in the personality of Virués, it is significant that this feeling for nature is found, not in the ambitious works of his youth, addressed to a public he aspired to guide, but rather in a letter home, written when past fifty to a poet brother whose aesthetic response was certain.

In the midst of a passage describing the perils of the way even in summer, and conjecturing the hazards of a winter trip, Virués interrupts his letter to state that at that point, as he sat writing in Milan about the expedition safely finished, came the order to start out upon a second, a winter journey, in charge of the vanguard of eleven troops of three thousand soldiers. The poem, evidently resumed upon the second return, goes on to describe the rest of the first expedition. An incident upon the

<sup>1</sup> See G. Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, London, 1863, vol. III, pp. 65-66.

journey was a danger from which he and D. Pedro Ferrer escaped in Bremgarten on the Holy Virgin's Day in September.<sup>1</sup> The poem is singularly free from references to the military operations or the cause espoused; the soldier is off duty and the poet refreshes his soul contemplating the marvels of nature.

Not all of his life had offered such rich material to the poet; most of the lyrics relating to his Italian residence in military capacity, moving here, there and everywhere with the army of occupation, suggest that he was often bored and homesick:

Vna desierta peligrosa playa  
do no ai en que parar los ojos puedan

.....

es lo que ofrece a mis cansados ojos  
*Barleta*, en medio del afán que passo  
siguiendo el militar desassossiego.

fol. 262, p. 2.

¿Qué importa ver el aislado fuerte  
i el admirable puerto sossegado,  
o el *Veneciano golfo* alborotado  
al marinero amenazando muerte?

¿Qué importa, antigo i libre *Brindis*, verte  
de fértiles campañas adornado?

¿Qué sirve estar en ti bien alojado,  
si nada desto el alma me divierte?

Aquéxala el desseo de reposo  
con tan fuerte i tan bivo sentimiento

<sup>1</sup> Lines *Al Capitan Don Pedro Ferrer* (fol. 273, p. 2) also refer to this peril, but throw no light upon the nature of it.

que en nada desso se entretiene o para.

Sólo mirando al cielo el congoxoso  
dolor puede tener divertimiento,  
i assi su vista solo en él repara.

fol. 262.

O sea que no caben en mi pecho  
por su estrechez las grandezas tantas  
con que, sobervia *Napoles*, espantas  
el ancho mar del uno al otro estrecho,  
o sea porque en lágrimas deshecho. . . .  
o sea que no es tanto lo que halla  
en ti que no sea más lo que dessea  
en umilde quietud de un justo intento,  
que le eres duro campo de batalla,  
barca que el mar i el viento vaivenea,  
nave sujeta al bravo mar i al viento.

fol. 228, p. 1.

¿Qué pensáis que es *Milan*? ¿Pensáis de veras  
que cual es el ruido son sus nuezes?  
No lo penséis, que menos es mil vezes  
de lo que os dan a ver vanas quimeras.

Inmensa confusión de gentes fieras,  
livianas, arrogantes i soezes,  
sin hazerse justicia mil juezes,  
mil sin una verdad lenguas parleras;

Marte i Mercurio en tratos i tumultos  
son cabeças aquí, pero Epicuro  
es desta Babilonia el cuerpo i alma.

Assí para atrocísimos insultos  
es bosque a fieras orridas seguro,  
es mar que no conoce jamás calma.

fol. 228, p. 1.

Donde comiença la *Abruça*  
i se acaba la *Romania*

con mil levantadas sierras  
eternamente nevadas,  
en la más fría de todas  
el triste Criseo <sup>1</sup> estaba  
del fiero Marte traído  
entre su espereza tanta,  
atormentar el alma  
con soledad tristísima i amarga.

fol. 228, p. 2.

Ora del grande mar el ancho seno  
cercado de montañas altas mire,  
ora del mar pequeño el puesto admire,  
i los pescados de que está tan lleno.

Ora se muestre el Sol dulce i sereno  
i el rigor del invierno se retire.

Ora la primavera ya respire  
i esmalte con sus flores el terreno.

Ora en *Taranto* veo gozo i canto  
por varias ocasiones, i en los míos  
señales de contento i de alegría.

Todo me aflige i me provoca a llanto,  
porque en todo se ofrecen mil desvíos  
a la quietud que adora el alma mía.

fol. 262, p. 2.

Que como yo no tengo en tu Ribera  
el fin de mi remedio i mi consuelo  
no puedes alegría darme entera,

.....

Querido i patrio Turia; cuando pienso  
en lo que sin cessar pensar devría,  
entre tu tanto bien quedo suspenso.

Profunda i triste da melancolía

<sup>1</sup> Criseo is name by which Virués refers to himself in his lyrics—  
see Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, col. 179.

al alma entre tus bienes la memoria  
del alto bien que en su alto intento cría.

fol. 214, p. 1.

Military life gave little opportunity for writing:

Cantar solía alegre,  
i aora triste lloro  
passados bienes i presentes males;  
no ai cosa que me alegre;  
hasta el divino coro  
de las suaves Musas celestiales  
que eran toda mi gloria  
atormentan aora mi memoria.

¿Pero qué maravilla  
si de la guerra grave  
soi arrojado de una en otra parte?  
La celestial cuadrilla pacífica i suave,  
¿qué tiene con el fiero, airado Marte?

fol. 205, p. 1.

Gone were all his illusions about the life of a soldier:

Suenan las caxas con furor tocadas,  
alertan la feroz gente de guerra,  
i con espanto i grima de la tierra  
dizen ¡al arma! fieramente airadas.

Las armas son al fiero son tomadas,  
i forman ellas aquel son que atierra  
al más valiente espíritu que encierra  
en su valor las fuerças más preciadas.

I movido mi pecho desta suerte,  
i mis manos i pies al son movidos  
en medio del assombro de la muerte,  
alçando al cielo el alma sus gemidos  
dize, “O dichosos los que en pobre suerte  
bivís del bien del cielo enriquecidos.”

fol. 265, p. 2.

¡O miserable suerte de soldados  
de todo el universo aborrecidos,  
por desgracia i miseria dél tenidos,  
con mil impropios nombres denostados!

Quien nos llama cavallos desbocados,  
quien lobos carniceros i atrevidos,  
quien toros acossados i afligidos,  
quien leones sangrientos i aquexados.

¿A quién llamáis assí, gente plebea?  
A quien da Reinos, cetros i coronas  
con su sangre ganándolo i sus vidas.

¿A quién assí llamáis? A quien se emplea  
en guardaros haziendas i personas  
de vuestras ambiciones perseguidas.

fol. 227, p. 1.

War no longer meant honor, but villainy:

Huye tras mí, ermana, ¿no ves, no sientes  
el rostro i el rumor del fiero Marte?

.....  
Dixo assí la razón; no le resiste  
su ermana la verdad.

.....  
I assí las dos huyeron de la triste  
gente de guerra, que sin ellas bive  
vida peor mil vezes que la muerte.

fol. 224, p. 2.

What caused this disillusionment? Accumulating years and contact with life? Perhaps; but Virués did not lack more tangible grounds for discouragement. Public affairs disheartened him. He had witnessed the ultimate failure of the cause that had drawn him into service, for in spite of the splendid victory won

at such cost at Tunis, 1573, the following year it soon fell again into the hands of the Turks, who presently held all Cyprus, as though Lepanto had never been. Disaster and death had awaited the idolized Don Juan in Flanders.<sup>1</sup> The glorious Armada had gone down with the hopes of a nation. Felipe el Prudente had died,<sup>2</sup> and a lesser monarch was on the throne. Personal experiences also served their part in breaking Virués' spirit—the death of his brother Francisco,<sup>3</sup> the betrayal of a trusted friend. What the circumstances were, or who the friend, we do not know, but his sonnet records a deep-felt injury:

¿No soi yo, Ircán, quien con tan pío afeto  
(como a su Padre el inclito Troyano)  
en ombros te saqué del inumano  
rigor de muerte a que te ví sujeto?

¿No soi quien con amor raro i perfeto  
en tus peligros con mi propia mano  
te socorrí contra el furor tirano  
que te pudo poner en tanto aprieto?

¿I yo no soi quien fuí tan perseguido,  
sólo por serte amigo verdadero,

<sup>1</sup> Virués has a poem *En la muerte del Señor Don Juan*, *Obras*, fol. 250, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *En la muerte del Rei Felipe*, *Obras*, fol. 256, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Este pequeño ramo trasplantado  
de Virués en Valencia, ya no espere  
ser cual el de su origen señalado.  
Con vos, Francisco, su esperanza muere.

*En la muerte del Dotor Francisco de  
Virués*, *Obras*, fol. 255, p. 2.

de aquel por quien tú fuiste tan fingido?

Al desleal, ingrato i lisonjero  
nunca faltó el castigo merecido,  
ni el justo premio al de ánimo sincero.

fol. 277, p. 2.

There is nothing to indicate that Virués ever married. Did personal experience lead him to picture his heroes dupes of unscrupulous women? Is he perchance seeking comfort for wounded pride when he pictures such women as Ismeria and Delbora pouring out humble devotion upon preoccupied lovers,—one a soldier? Certainly unhappy love affairs troubled his life. Now as he departs with the troops he is torn between love and duty:

Parto, siguiendo el bravo son de Marte,  
sin poder resistir forçosamente,  
i al corazón que la partida siente  
amargamente un dulce Amor le parte.

Yo sigo de aquel fiero el Estandarte  
que dulçura i terneza no consiente,  
i del suave Amor tierno i clemente  
al corazón no ai fuerça que le aparte.

Estraña suerte de tormento, puesto  
un corazón en el extremo punto  
de blandura mayor i de aspereza.

Todo le quiere Marte a sí dispuesto  
i todo Amor, i todos en un punto  
piden punto mayor de fortaleza.

fol. 265, p. 2.

Now he would interpret his lady's coldness as the austerity of virtue:

Sé que sois dura porque no sois vana,  
 que es onestidad vuestra aspereza;  
 i sé que no os movéis de no liviana,  
 i que es santa umildad vuestra altiveza;  
 sé que es vuestra constancia más que umana,  
 i que es digna de vos vuestra firmeza;  
 i tal de vos, señora, me enamoro  
 que aunque desseo beldad, virtud adoro.

fol. 220, p. 1.

On the point of victory he suffers defeat:

Ya de no injusto Amor justa vitoria,  
 justos regalos, gustos i favores  
 pintavan en mil formas mil amores  
 con firme devaneo en la memoria;  
 ya de Marte ambicioso aquella gloria  
 tan llena de trabajo i sinsabores  
 traía entre sus vanos pundonores  
 al alma en sombras de inmortal Istoria;  
 cuando una flaca destemplança dando  
 un solo assalto al cuerpo, casi en tierra  
 le arrojó al triste con mortal aprieto.  
 Fiero descuido, andar devaneando  
 con cuidados de amores i de guerra  
 viéndome a tal miseria estar sujeto.

fol. 276, p. 1.

Just as he is recovering from one disappointment he finds himself at the mercy of another love affair:

Después que el desengaño  
 con el tiempo venido  
 libró del fiero amor el alma mía,  
 viendo el inmenso daño  
 en que la avía tenido

su rigurosa i brava tiranía,  
alegre yo bivía,  
gozando libertad i rehaziendo  
parte de las ruinas  
que las guerras continas  
en todo mi mejor fueron haziendo,  
i de la triste istoria  
era alegre sepulcro la memoria;  
    cuando el gigante orrendo  
que en tierno niño anda  
(¡traidor!) entre los ombres disfrazado,  
mi alegre estado viendo  
i que en justa demanda  
andava ya sin él mui empleado,  
corrido i afrentado  
de que yo pareciesse vitorioso,  
buelve a moverme guerra  
con cuanta fuerça encierra  
en su terrible braço poderoso  
que cuanto el mundo abraça,  
rinde i destruye, abate i despedaça;  
    i no en vieja cadena  
que le parece poco  
(aunque fué tanto que ai más mal a penas)  
quiere Amor que mi pena  
siga su intento loco  
tras el cruel tormento de sus penas;  
sino en nuevas cadenas  
que con fuerça mayor i más estraña  
essecuten su furia,  
hazirme quiere injuria,  
emprendiendo el cruel por gran hazaña  
el vengarse de un pecho  
en mil miserias frágiles deshecho.

Whatever the causes, the melancholy of Virués is unmistakable:

Los altos edificios que fabricas  
en la región donde ligera buelas,  
vana imaginación, . . .

.....  
yo triste veo que en el suelo yazen.

fol. 213, p. 1.

Que cuantas puede aver prosperidades,  
si las pides del mundo i las esperas,  
son todas vanidad de vanidades.

fol. 204, p. 1.

But Virués was no weakling, bewailing a hard fate:

I no tiene la culpa  
el mundo de mis daños,  
yo solo soi el que la culpa tengo;  
bien clara es su disculpa,  
claros sus desengaños,  
pues si a mirar todas sus cosas vengo,  
clara i abiertamente  
veo que yo soi solo el delinquente.

.....  
¿Qué dize a boz en grito  
al alma que lo advierte  
el revolver del tiempo en las edades?

.....  
¿Qué es ver las monarquías  
en Siria ya acabadas  
i que comiençan en la fiel España?

.....  
Sí, mis propias passiones  
son causa siempre de sus sinrazones.

El mundo siempre es uno,  
i es bueno si soi bueno,  
i si yo malo soi, el mundo es malo.

.....  
Este siglo en que andamos  
es como los passados que alabamos.

fol. 205, p. 2—fol. 206, p. 1.

Though life deprived him of the peace and leisure so desirable for the poet's contemplation, he did not escape the urge to write:

Pero si siempre mi tormento callo,  
i ni pluma ni boz ni lengua nuevo,  
¿podré vivir? ¿podré pensar passallo?

fol. 258, p. 1.

He realized that experience had changed his spirit and his muse; yet that spirit and that muse sought expression, and he felt that he must give the world the fruits of his bitter experience. One endeavoring to understand Virués and analyze his work can do no better than ponder the lines written to Gerónimo de Cardono, in which Virués himself defines his muse and the topics to which he will devote himself:

El umor melancólico i adusto  
me tiene tan privado de contento  
que no puedo escribir cosa de gusto . . .

.....  
Mercurio, Apolo, Iúpiter i Marte,  
Minerva, Cintia i las ermanas nueve  
no quieren ser aora de mi parte;  
solo Saturno me gobierna i mueve . . .

.....

La delicada Musa aora duerme,  
 i en su lugar acude a mí una Musa  
 que más que amarme muestra aborrecerme,  
 rigurosa, colérica, confusa,  
 descompuesta, satírica, impaciente,  
 culpable en todo sin que tenga excusa.

I es fuerça que con ella me contente  
 i que lo que me dicta escriba i hable  
 aunque me desagrade i descontente

.....

[Habla la Musa.]

Tendrás, Virués, a grande maravilla  
 lo que yo te dixere, estando hecho  
 a tratar con la Musa de Castilla.

Pues haz buen coraçón i ensancha el pecho,  
 que ella es toda lisonja i es halago,  
 yo soi llana verdad i soi provecho.

No entiendas que no entiendo que empalago  
 el gusto de mil juvenes loçanos  
 de quien haze *el amor* sangriento estrago,  
 dándoles en los ojos i en las manos  
 a que vean i toquen sus intentos  
 más que la misma vanagloria vanos,  
 sus castillos armados en los vientos,  
 sus locuras, sus vanas pretensiones,  
 sus mal puestos i baxos pensamientos  
 i su razón fundada en sin razones  
 de procurar el matrimonio presto  
 contra mil verdaderas opiniones.

En esto (dixo a boz en grito), en esto  
 quiero que pares, mírame escrivano,  
 este es oi de mi plática el supuesto.

Otra vez te diré *del cortesano*  
 las pretensiones i las esperanças,  
 el falso estilo, el término inumano,

las passiones, lisonjas i privanças,  
la vanidad, la brava ipocresía,  
las ambiciones i las assechanças;  
el dissoluto trato i burlería  
de su gente común, bárbara, impura  
así como criada en berbería;

su afetación, deidad i compostura  
abhorrecibles tanto, los vaivenes  
que les da su sobervia i su locura;  
sus muchos males i sus pocos bienes,  
sus títulos, sus onras, sus favores;  
i de suerte que en todo le condenes.

Otra vez te diré de los *señores*  
la antigua discreción puesta en Leteo,  
i la diversidad de sus umores.

.....  
Assí el cielo te dé lo a ti más justo  
que me digas si es cierto lo que digo  
i si es el *ser satírico* buen gusto.

.....  
Otra vez te diré del encendido  
i sobervio tropel de *Marte orrendo*  
(de polvo i sangre i de sudor teñido),  
la ciega confusión i el sordo estruendo,  
la arrogancia, el furor i la impaciencia;  
los coraçones en veneno ardiendo,  
la terrible rotura de conciencia,  
la desnudez, miseria, frío i hambre,  
la falta de gobierno i de prudencia.

.....  
Otra vez te diré de la *ambiciosa*  
*dama de Corte*.....

Escribir cortesanas dameraías  
es contar las arenas de los mares  
i perder el juicio por mil vías . . .

Here then is his program defined; he will be a satiric poet, holding a mirror to the follies he observes—the extravagancies of passion, the blindness of lovers, the mad dance of courtiers, the vanity of lordlings, the intrigues of ambitious women, the futility of war and the instability of courts. Yet not alone bitterness of disillusionment inspires this course; Virués paints the follies of men and the vanity of the world because he feels the tragedy of those who fail to grasp the eternal values.

For the fundamental quality in Virués is religious sentiment. He is not deeply spiritual; there is little of the mystic about him. But the quality that colors his whole life is nevertheless religious enthusiasm; it determined his career as a soldier; it breathes through all his work as a poet. The *Monserate* is rooted in piety in the heroic proportions characteristic of epic poetry. Its central figure, Garín, is a saintly monk most sympathetically portrayed. Like other humans, he falls prey to the Devil; being a great soul, his sin is proportionately great: he ravishes the beautiful young girl entrusted to his spiritual guidance, then kills her to cover his crime. The penitence which follows is correspondingly great: his journey to Rome to make confession before the Pope is fraught with dangers and hardships; condemned to return upon all fours, by the

time he reaches Monserrate at the end of seven years' journey, he has every appearance of a beast, and as such is captured and displayed in public. The miracle through which divine grace redeems a great soul so utterly humbled must needs be a tremendous one: a tender infant announces that he is forgiven of God; the girl he wronged rises living from her grave, the first nun of a mighty convent which shall perpetuate the holy tale. Even in the plays where the pagan subject-matter precludes direct expression of Christian sentiments, we find constant appeal to a righteous Providence which watches over and intervenes in the affairs of men,<sup>1</sup> provided they forgive each other, obey their sovereign, and love and trust God.<sup>2</sup> Suffering of the wicked is recognized as *justicias del eterno cielo*.<sup>3</sup> Suffering of the innocent is regarded as *secretos divinos*,<sup>4</sup> but he who submits in blind faith to the *juizio oculto*<sup>5</sup> may later be able to say

que por darme gloria inmensa  
me as dado esta pena leve.<sup>6</sup>

It is this belief in right living inseparably bound up with the conception of a righteous deity

<sup>1</sup> *Dido* I, 481-490.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex. Sem.* III, 331-338.

<sup>3</sup> *Ex. At.* II, 629-633; *At.* III, 264-265; *At.* III, 617-624.

<sup>4</sup> *Ex. Mar.* I, 196.

<sup>5</sup> *Mar.* I, 244.

<sup>6</sup> *Mar.* I, 270-271.

that makes Virués sensitive to the tragedy of men's mistakes and inspires the didactic tone of his writing. Like the classic dramatists he chose as models, he weighs the motives of men, watches the overturning of their schemes and dreams, ponders on the things which are their undoing—theirs and his.

His experience convinced him of three menaces to man's happiness: ambition, which is a personal quality and fostered from within; love, in which he participates but of which he is a helpless prey; and chance, entirely outside himself and to which he is ever subject. The latter is a topic which often occupies his pen.<sup>1</sup> Man can do nothing to protect himself against it, but must be ever aware of its power to reverse his situation:

¡Ai, umana mudança,  
cuán presto nos entregas  
al menos pretendido i esperado!

*Dido V, 420–422.*

¿Assí, miserable mundo?  
¿Assí, mudable fortuna?  
¿Ya en el cerco de la Luna?  
¿Ya derribado al profundo?  
¿Ayer un grande señor?  
¿Oí un esclavo afligido? etc.

*Mar. II, 218–223.*

Ambition, which, of the three, is most within

<sup>1</sup> Usually in the figure of the roulette wheel.

man's control, he has seen wreak terrible disaster:<sup>1</sup>

Miserable mortal, martirizado  
De ambición, fuerte furia del infierno,  
Que sin cesar acá y allá arrojado  
Lleva tu pensamiento en vuelo eterno,  
Jamás de ti contento ni pagado.

*Mon. XII, p. 542.*

But Virués finds that nothing threatens man's happiness as does love,

. . . . los viles apetitos ciegos  
de quien a sido siempre avassallada.

*Sem. III, 684-685.*

He pictures man as powerless before love which  
es universal señor.

*Sem. III, 174.*

Misery is the lot it brings instead of promised joy:

¡A, lo que puede, amor, tu llama ardiente,  
i de cuántas maneras atormenta  
al afligido corazón doliente,  
que tan a costa suya alimenta!

*Cas. III, 136-139.*

Falsos del falso Amor dulces desseos,

. . . . .

¿en qué os avéis resuelto? En humo, en viento.  
¿En qué os avéis resuelto? En desengaño.

*Dido V, 119-129.*

<sup>1</sup> Ambition is a quality to which Virués must have felt women particularly liable, since it constitutes the leading motive of three of his heroines, Semíramis, Cassandra and Flaminia.

This is undoubtedly the most repeated topic in the plays. It forms the entire theme in *Elisa Dido* where it is the motivating power of every character of importance. In *La gran Semíramis* it proves the ruin of Menón, of Nino, and eventually of Semíramis herself. In *Atila Furioso* Gerado, the Queen and Atila fall through its power. In *El Monserrate* one recalls that it alone had the power to lead the holy Garín astray:

¡Oh carne poderosa, brava y diestra  
Con armas que tú misma inhabilitas!  
¡Quién, sino tú, causar pudiera tanto  
En un varón tan escogido y santo?

*Mon. II, p. 509.*

That Virués realized the ennobling quality of a lofty affection is clear in his portrayal of Dido, his noblest character. Yet Dido's case is unique. Evidently he saw more to impress him with the destructive than with the constructive powers of love. In fact, Virués seems to say that all that appears to offer to man most,—fortune, ambition, love,—are in league to hurl him to his ruin; he is doomed to disillusionment:<sup>1</sup>

Todo es engaño este caduco mundo;  
todo es dolor esta caduca vida.

*Dido II, 193-194.*

Committed to didactic writing Virués' pen

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pessimism of the lyrics quoted above.

was ever directed against one or another human failing. Often in his life in camp and court he saw the disrupting effects of man's hypocrisy. Not friendship itself was exempt from its devastation:

La infiel *simulación*, ques bravo un lobo  
disfraçado en un manso corderillo,  
que en *leales amigos* haze un robo  
que possible no le es restituillo.

*Sem. III, 299-302.*

O traidor, ¿al *amigo* que obligado  
con obras de lealtad te tiene, vendes?

*Sem. III, 307-308.*

Friendship valued merely as an instrument to man's self-interest is portrayed in Alarico's change of attitude toward Tersilo when he declares the impossibility

de serte amigo,  
siendo a la lealtad i fe enemigo.

*Mar. I, 135-136.*

Bitter is Virués' attack upon the lying and back-biting in which hypocrisy, necessary condition to worldly advancement, finds natural expression:

Si no tienes de víbora la lengua  
que veneno mortal vierta, si tienes  
el ser malsín i el ser traidor a mengua,  
si con virtud o con razón te avienes,  
si tu lengua no trueca o sinó amengua  
con falsos males verdaderos bienes,  
ya casi ni en la guerra ni en la Corte  
cosa tendrás a tu medida i corte.

*Sem. III, 355-362.*

Instrumento de carne carnicero,  
 lengua de embidia vil, lengua perjura,  
 ¡de cuán eroicas máquinas, máquinas  
 i pones en efeto las ruinas!

Lengua pensada leve más que pluma;  
 lengua leve, pesada más que plomo,  
 no ai cosa que en el mundo ser presuma  
 cual eres tú, de más i menos tomo.  
 Eres mi vida, eres mi muerte en suma,  
 según uso de ti, según te tomo;  
 pero, infiel, levantando testimonios,  
 eres ministro fiel de los demonios.

*Sem. III, 375-386.*

He sees that flattery, another product of insincerity, exists only because it is acceptable to vanity:

Fabio. Esso dexa a mi cargo, mui segura  
 que al Príncipe tendré yo persuadido,  
 por el *término a él más agradable*,  
 de todo cuanto importa; de manera  
 que aunque el caso no se haga,  
 a nuestro intento quede convencido.

Casan. Esso es pues lo que más importa en todo,  
 pues si una vez al ánimo se imprime  
 destos *vanos señores* una cosa,  
 podrán ver la contraria i no creella.

*Cas. II, 161-170.*

Virués saw in drunkenness <sup>1</sup> another vice that was defeating man's noblest development:

<sup>1</sup> Recalling the customs of the Swiss as he journeyed through their cantons, he referred to them in the letter to his brother as

fieros, interesados i arrogantes,  
 amigos cordiales de aquel Baco  
 que el mundo tiene ya casi por suyo.

. . . . .  
 la razón pervertida i ofuscada  
 del vino que causó tan grave daño,  
 del vino que, cual suele, siendo usado  
 con el vicio que Atila siempre usólo,  
 haze a los ombres brutas, bestias, fieras;  
 haze a los ombres furias infernales;  
 haze, en suma, a los ombres no ser ombres,  
 sino afrenta i oprobio de los ombres.

*At. Fur. III, 342-349.*

He voiced distress at the greed he observed  
 among soldiers and in a *Romance* he represents  
 none less than the Cid Campeador

encolerizado un día  
 sobre ciertas libertades  
 que usavan con sus rendidos  
 algunos de sus Guzmanes.

*Obras, fol. 210, p. 1.*

Yet on the whole Virués holds soldiers in high  
 esteem; the Cid himself declares:

Cuanto el fazer que el dezir  
 es de más alto quilate  
 tanto es más el buen soldado  
 que el letrado que más sabe.

*Obras, fol. 211, p. 1.*

In a lyric already cited <sup>1</sup> he defends the honor  
 of soldiers against ingratitude, and again in  
*Semíramis* he recognizes their service, address-  
 ing them

Soldados valerosos,  
 que cada passo i punto

<sup>1</sup> *O miserable suerte de soldados.*

ponéis la vida en manos de la muerte,  
 i en mil hechos famosos  
 el alma i vuestro punto  
 entregáis al rigor de vuestra suerte,  
 siguiendo los furores i los gustos  
 destos crueles Príncipes injustos.

I, 614-621.

But as to war itself, no twentieth century pacifist holds it in greater abhorrence than did this sixteenth century soldier:<sup>1</sup>

Menón. La guerra siempre ha sido i es tan brava,  
 tan cruel, tan sangrienta i rigurosa,  
 que al cielo parece que admirava,  
 i a la tierra tenía temerosa.

*Sem. I, 73-76.*

Zopira. ¡Qué lástima era ver las damas bellas  
 tratadas por mil bárbaros soldados  
 tan rigurosa, tan violentamente!  
 ¡Qué compasión, el grito de los niños;  
 qué terneza, los llantos de los viejos;  
 qué orror, la muerte de los fuertes moços;  
 qué temor, la braveza i furia airada  
 de las crueles armas vencedoras  
 de las gentes indómitas, ferozes!  
 ¡Qué confusión, el diligente saco,  
 el bullicioso, ardiente i fiero robo  
 de la cruel i cudiciosa gente! *etc.*

*Sem. I, 662-673.*

He expresses little confidence in what war may be expected to accomplish:

<sup>1</sup> Observe that both these speeches are put in the mouths of brave, successful fighters.

O guerra ¿quién en ti esperança pone?  
¿quién de ti fía? ¿quién de ti no huye?  
¿quién a dejarte ya no se dispone?  
¿quién contigo sus cuentas no concluye?

*Sem. III, 339-342.*

Thus Virués contends against such evils as have come under his observation and have cast their shadow on his own life. But the stern moralist and austere reformer is nevertheless a very human Virués, and the humble confession of his own shortcomings is more moving than all his eloquent harangues against the evils of his age:

¡O fuerte del juizio umano estrago,  
que veo el bien i lo desseo i quiero,  
i me entrego en el mal i dél me pago!

¡Juez de ajenas culpas cuán severo,  
reformador cuán concertado i justo  
de agena lei, costumbre agena, o fuero!

¡Qué buen gusto en dezir de cuán mal gusto  
es el torpe, el cruel, es el profano,  
i es en resolución cualquier injusto!

¡I qué juez tan blando i tan umano  
de los errores i las culpas mías,  
con quien, que es lo peor, tal vez me ufano!

fol. 259, p. 1.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PLAYS OF VIRUÉS

#### ELISA DIDO

*Summary.* *Act I:* Iarbas, king of Numidia, has demanded the hand of Dido, queen of Carthage, and threatens violence to the city if she offers resistance. In the opening scene of the play Dido instructs the ambassador Abenamida to report to Iarbas her assent to his suit. Her general Carquedonio and her governor Seleuco protest. Both are in love with the queen, and determine to prevent her marriage with Iarbas. The chorus composed of temple attendants implores the pity of Providence. *Act II:* Ismeria, maid and confidante of Dido, observing Seleuco's distress and believing his love for her to be the cause of it, urges him on to a declaration. He confesses that he is really in love with Dido, and has courted the maid only to gain access to the mistress. Delbora, a slave girl, is similarly undeceived by Carquedonio with whom she has fallen in love. The chorus prays for their salvation. *Act III:* Abenamida returns with gifts for Dido from Iarbas,—a crown, a sceptre and a sword. Dido sets the hour when Iarbas

may claim her. Nevertheless she declares to Ismeria unswerving fidelity to her dead husband Siqueo, and hints at a secret which she cannot yet share with her. Pirro brings news of a battle between the army of Dido and that of Iarbas—a fight actually provoked by a treacherous attack of the concerted forces of Carquedonio and Seleuco, but reported to the queen as a treacherous act on the part of Iarbas' soldiers. The chorus curses love and prays for mercy on human weakness. *Act IV:* Everyone is greatly disturbed by Dido's neglect of preparations for the reception of Iarbas. Abenamida brings new of the death of Carquedonio and Seleuco in their mad attempt to resist Iarbas, and he demands of the queen an explanation. The chorus mourns. *Act V:* Iarbas arrives and is conducted to Dido's private chapel, as the queen has ordered. When the doors are flung open there stands revealed on the sacrificial altar the corpse of Dido, Iarbas' sword through her breast, his crown and sceptre thrown to the floor. A note explains that only thus has she been able to save her city and keep her vow of chastity to Siqueo. Touched by her magnanimity Iarbas promises liberty and protection to Carthage and imposes upon the citizens everlasting service to Dido as their patron divinity. The chorus laments the vanity of human hopes.

The history of Dido previous to the action of the play is related to Delbora by Ismeria in long installments in every act except the last.

*Theme.* Virués has been criticized<sup>1</sup> for having obscured his main plot by the introduction of minor intrigues. Certainly one resents his pushing into the background of mere relation the heroic tale of Dido while colorless incidents in the lives of insignificant characters occupy the stage. Nevertheless his theme,—the tremendous power of love,<sup>2</sup>—lends the drama a certain unity, for the destructive force of misdirected passion as presented in Seleuco and Carquedonio has a legitimate place in the tragedy whose main object is to exemplify the ennobling power of heroic love.

*Sources.* Obviously Virués did not draw his plot from the well known fourth book of the Aeneid. Vergil made of Dido's story but an incident in the life of Aeneas, who once recalled to a sense of his responsibilities resolutely left the fair foreigner and proceeded to the

<sup>1</sup> See Crawford and Merimée.

<sup>2</sup> Ismeria defines the theme of the play:

Este fiero, en Seleuco i Carquedonio  
véasse lo que causa; este insolente,  
miren lo que en Iarbas a podido;  
este tirano, en la afligida Elisa  
¿qué a hecho? ¿qué no a hecho? En el proceso  
de su notable Istoria ver se puede:  
por un sueño o visión de su querido  
Siqueo, de amor forçada hizo  
cuanto de mí as sabido de su vida.

mighty task of establishing Rome—that great city which should in subsequent wars feel the effect of the Carthaginian queen's curses, but which should, like its founder, emerge with destiny undimmed.

In the drama of Virués the tragic story of Dido is not an incident in the private life of the founder of Rome—Aeneas plays no part in the drama nor is he even mentioned; it is an episode in the history of Carthage. Far from being the love-lorn widow who, deserted by her lover, destroyed herself in a passion of ungovernable despair, the Dido of Virués is a prudent queen who, motivated by devotion to the dead Siqueo and rising Carthage, outwitted a too insistent suitor by a noble self-sacrifice which at once protected her people and saved her self-esteem. This corresponds to the version of Justin (*Historiae Philippicae*, bk. XVIII, cap. iv, v, vi), which, like that of Timaios, whose account of Dido is the earliest on record,<sup>1</sup> makes no mention of Aeneas.

In linking the story of Dido with that of Aeneas Vergil followed the version of the Greek saga<sup>2</sup> first used by Naevius in his *Bellum*

<sup>1</sup> See W. H. Roscher, *Dido* in *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884-90; Pauly-Wissowa, *Dido* in *Real Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Timaios and Naevius alike based their accounts on a saga which had grown up among Greeks—that is, among Hellenized

*Poenicum* as prelude to foreshadow the later enmity between Rome and Carthage. Though Terentius Varro had already shaken confidence in this version,<sup>1</sup> its poetic value was unimpaired, and since it suited Vergil's purpose he used it, not scrupling to embellish it with fictions of his own. Later Roman writers continued to contest the authenticity of the Dido-Aeneas tradition,<sup>2</sup> but the *Aeneid* was so much better known than their protests that the world soon forgot that its truth had ever been challenged.

With the Renaissance scholars unearthed the old dispute; Petrarch<sup>3</sup> claimed to be the first of his day to examine critically the historic basis of the *Aeneid*, and on the authority of St. Jerome, St. Augustine and Justin, to refute the Dido-Aeneas fiction.<sup>4</sup> In his *Africa*<sup>5</sup> and

Sicilians and Carthaginians. It is believed that the starting point of the Dido legend was the existence of a state-goddess of Carthage who came to be considered founder of the nation. See Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>1</sup> Serv. Aen. IV, p. 682; V, p. 1 (fr. Roscher).

<sup>2</sup> "Hoc tractu temporum ante annos quinque et sexaginta quam urbs Romana conderetur, ab Elissa Tyria, quam quidam Dido autumant, Carthago conditur." Velleius Paterculus, I, 6. T. R. Glover, *Vergil*, New York, 1912, cap. viii, cites also Tertullian and Macrobius.

<sup>3</sup> In *Ep. Sen.* 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> P. Nohac, *Petrarque et l'humanisme*, Paris, 1907, vol. I, p. 135 ff., and Melodia, *Difesa de F. Petrarca*, Firenze, 1902, p. 19 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Così nacque Cartago, e sì l'ha salva  
La pudica, e magnamina regina  
Pure verrà chi d'impudico amore  
Maculi el santo nome e del suo carme  
Splendido carme, veli intessa al vero.  
Ma tua fama, Didon, non fia men bella!

Libro terzo.

in *Triumphus Pudicitiae*<sup>1</sup> he glorified a chaste Dido. To take exception to Vergil was considered little short of heresy, but Boccaccio followed Petrarch's example in his *Genealogia Deorum*.

However, for the most part men were content with the story as they received it from Vergil; of the many playwrights who chose Dido as a tragic heroine, except Virués, Gabriel Laso de la Vega is the only one who rejected Vergil; he wrote "para deshazer la común y errada opinión." Virués selected Justin's Dido as an excellent type of the dominating woman he delighted to portray.

Notwithstanding that for plot Virués limited himself strictly to Justin, for details he drew frequently on Vergil. For example from Vergil come the names Belo and Siqueo, replacing those of Mutgo and Acerbas; from Vergil the idea of Dido's vow of chastity to her dead husband, and the actual appearance of his ghost; from Vergil, *Aeneid I*, the whole content of Act III, 7-12.

*Other Dido Plays.* The use of the Dido story for tragedy was not original with Virués. Alessandro Pazzi de' Medici published *Dido en Carthagine*, 1524, Lodivico Dolce a *Didone*, 1547, and Giraldi Cinthio a *Didone*, 1583. All

1

Dido

Ch'amor pio del suo sposo a morte spinse  
Non quel d'Enea, com'e'l publico grido . . .

of these, however, treat the story as it appears in Vergil's *Aeneid*,<sup>1</sup> as apparently does an early Spanish play, the anonymous *Tragedia de los amores de Eneas y de la Reyna Dido*, 1536;<sup>2</sup> Virués' *Elisa Dido*, as we have seen, is based on the entirely different version of the story found in Justin.

This same material is used also in a contemporary Spanish play, Gabriel Laso de la Vega's *Honra de Dido Restaurada* published in his *Romancero y Tragedias*, Alcalá de Henares, 1587. The author himself explains his sources in the *Argumento* where he sets forth his intention of redeeming the good name of Dido, whose reputation had suffered in the hands of Vergil.<sup>3</sup> Not being hampered, as was Virués,

<sup>1</sup> In the play of Pazzi de' Medici, Iarbas angered at the success of Aeneas' suit joins forces with Pigmaleon, then offers Dido her brother's head if she will yield to him.

<sup>2</sup> Given by Gallardo in vol. IV, col. 1460, no. 4511: "Como los encuentra en Vergilio."

<sup>3</sup> "Para deshazer la común y errada opinión en que están los que ignoran la verdadera historia de la Casta Dido, a quien Vergilio en su Eneyda fabulosamente y con siniestra relación agrauia contra la opinión de tantos y grandes autores. . . . Ésta es la verdadera historia de Dido y el suceso de su muerte, y no el que cuenta Vergilio por Eneas que es falso, y contra la verdadera y común opinión porque Eneas vino a Italia muchos años antes que Dido naciesse . . . i ésta es la verdadera historia, cuyos autores son Trogo i Iustino enel libro dezimo octavo y Sabellico enel libro nono de la primera Eneada, y los demás que en las coplas últimas desta tragedia, refiere la fama donde también van éstos."

by classic ideals<sup>1</sup> for his play, Laso de la Vega could dispense with choruses, the nurse, and the unities, and replace Virués' long awkward narrations by dramatic presentation of the episodes in chronological order. Hence Act I gives the incidents leading up to Dido's flight, Act II her adventures before founding the city, Act III the defense of her city through the sacrifice of her life in fidelity to Sicheo. Except for use of the same material there is no similarity between the play of Virués and that of Laso de la Vega, since the aim and manner of composition is quite distinct. The fact that Laso de la Vega here uses the three acts claimed and credited as an innovation of Virués<sup>2</sup> inclines one to the opinion that Virués may have been the first to use this version of the story.

In *Didon se sacrifiant* Etienne Jodelle, like the Italian dramatists, uses the version of Vergil; how far removed from the Spanish Dido is that of Jodelle's play may be judged from these lines taken from Act V:

<sup>1</sup> Act I includes a curious scene romanesque rather than epic in tone, and apparently independent of the main plot except as it symbolizes the dream of happiness from which Dido is soon to be roughly awakened. Marcio, a *galán*, is hunting in a woods near a spring, and wounds a doe. Upon hearing the approach of Dido's sister Ana, and her maid Dorina, like himself enjoying the birds and flowers in this lovely spot, he throws himself down and feigns sleep, expressing his love and his dread of waking for

el fin deste me dize  
que los sueños sueños son.

<sup>2</sup> See discussion of Virués under *Senecan Influence*, p. 127.

O amours, amours foles,  
 Qui n'avez pas permis qu'innocente et honneste  
 Je reuoise vers luy! mais ia ma mort est preste.  
 Pour t'appaiser Sichee, il faut lauer mon crime  
 Dans mon sang, me faisant et prestresse et victime.

It has been implied that Guillén de Castro in *Los amores de Dido y Eneas* followed the version selected by Virués and Gabriel Laso de la Vega.<sup>1</sup> The title alone is sufficient to indicate that the main theme is not the tale given by Justin. However, it is true that Iarbas plays a fairly important role in the play. Forsaken by the beloved Aeneas, pursued by the hated Iarbas, Dido sends word to the latter that she will marry him to save her people whom he threatens. The object of her self-immolation is not, however, to preserve fidelity to Siqueo, but to escape an unwelcome marriage following upon a disastrous love affair. In such a spirit she addresses the sword:

Ah, espada infame,  
 presto te verás manchada  
 con sangre de mujer firme,  
 ya que no de mujer casta!<sup>2</sup>

As in Virués' play, the closing scene is the discovery of Dido's suicide by Iarbas, who comes to claim her as bride; however, he shares his discovery with Aeneas, owner of the fatal

<sup>1</sup> J. Hurtado y A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1922, p. 672.

<sup>2</sup> *Obras*, Madrid, 1925, p. 203.

sword by which she died. Aeneas has taken up arms in defense of Dido against the invading Iarbas, and thus the lovers meet over her dead body. Castro has taken liberties with both versions of the tale, but the combination is interesting. It is natural to assume that acquaintance with the Dido plays of Virués and Gabriel Laso de la Vega was responsible in Castro for a version not found in other Dido plays.

#### LA GRAN SEMÍRAMIS

*Summary.* *Act I:* King Nino's army has tried in vain to take the city of Bactra. Semíramis, wife of Menón, the general, suggests a surprise attack in a difficult but unguarded spot. The success of the venture brings her to the attention of the king. He falls in love with her and offers Menón the hand of his sister Sosana in exchange for that of Semíramis. Menón refuses to consider the proposal. Nino carries Semíramis away. Menón hangs himself. His comrades Zelabo and Zopiro mourn his loss. *Act II:* Several years have elapsed. The scene is laid in Nineveh. Nino grants Semíramis a request for five days of independent rule. Acting under orders from Semíramis, Zelabo imprisons Nino, and Zopiro forces the prince Ninias to assume his mother's robes and retire among the Vestal Virgins. Then Semíramis, in turn disguised as her son Ninias,

carries to the Council a letter purporting to come from the queen explaining that she saw the king translated to heaven, and that she is herself withdrawing from public life in favor of their prince Ninias. After the Council pledges support to the new monarch, Semíramis, still disguised as Ninias, has Nino brought before her. Nino believes that his wife has suffered a similar fate at the hands of their unfeeling son, and straightway drinks the poison offered him. Before he dies he learns that it is the beloved Semíramis herself who has thus sacrificed him. *Act III:* Having ruled successfully for many years, Semíramis discloses to the Council her ruse and proclaims as king the long concealed Ninias. The incestuous passion she entertains for her son rouses his disgust and he determines to put an end to the intolerable situation. Diarco describes to Zelabo Semíramis' death at the hands of Ninias. Zelabo reveals the story of her birth, childhood, marriages, plot to take the throne, licentious behaviour and the murder of Zopiro. Diarco recounts her victorious wars and public works. Ninias persuades the Council that Semíramis has ascended into heaven in the form of a dove, then confides the disposal of her body to Zelabo and Diarco.

*Theme.* The theme is the destructive power of ambition. It is demonstrated both in the

person of Semíramis and in the court which surrounds her. This woman's ambitions can be realized because, untouched by affection, she is complete mistress of the feminine art of knowing and handling men; having achieved her goals, she turns to love as *recreo*,<sup>1</sup> but no genuine affection, not even mother-love, has ever moved her, hence perversions grow apace<sup>2</sup> until they reach their height in the incestuous passion for her son. Expression of it proves fatal; the invincible Semíramis, like her victims before her, falls,

alcançando vitorias i trofeos  
de todos sus contrarios, sino sólo  
de aquellos que consigo el ombre trae,  
que son los viles apetitos ciegos.

III, 681-684.

But in this play Virués presents not only the rise and fall of a great queen, but the effect of it upon the people she ruled. Hence the tragedy involves not only a personal but a public calamity, for an unscrupulous monarch, infecting the whole court with ruthless ambition, weakens the moral fibre of a nation's natural leaders. The court corrupted by ambition, a subject which figures in all five of Virués' tragedies, here receives its fullest treatment. The counsellors Virués presents in a group so little individualized, so docile,

<sup>1</sup> II, 178.

<sup>2</sup> III, 574-586.

so deliberately blind and stupid, that we suspect them of being a half-humourous caricature. Alone,<sup>1</sup> their conversation shows clearly enough how little they respect their rulers, but their official utterances conform to what is expected of them in ridiculously varied echoes of the trite comments of their chief. Their service to the kingdom grows increasingly insignificant: Nino at least asks a reply "en el estilo acostumbrado";<sup>2</sup> Semíramis gives them no opportunity to express an opinion;<sup>3</sup> Ninias does not so much as invite their support.

In the courtiers the process of corruption is even clearer. Already in Act I where Zopiro and Zelabo are as yet untouched by any ambition less pure than to ascend by the fame of heroic deeds "al trono de la gloria," one remarks that it is the superiors who bait in them the appetite of self-interest.<sup>4</sup> Apparently the fate of their friend Menón, the rise of a not-too-fastidious Semíramis through the favor of a Nino for whom they entertain at most a limited respect, has killed the fine sense of loyalty exhibited in Act I and has made them accessible to the promises held out by Semíramis. If they enjoyed the position purchased at the price of treason to king and crown-

<sup>1</sup> II, 462-467.

<sup>2</sup> II, 104.

<sup>3</sup> III, 54-57.

<sup>4</sup> Menón, I, 180-183; Nino, I, 197-199.

prince, there is no evidence of it; on the contrary, Zelabo's thoughts when he is alone<sup>1</sup> are occupied with the loss of liberty, the ignominy of being tyrannized over by a woman, and the corruption of a court where there is no future for a man

sino es doblado i fementido,  
sino es dissimulado i cauteloso,  
sino es falso, sagaz i entremetido,  
sino es adulador, sino es chismoso.

Diarco does not appear until Act II and is evidently a younger courtier. Still dazzled by the glories of Semíramis, he sees no extenuating circumstances to justify Ninias in murdering her; he is horrified at his false tale to the counsellors and shocked at their hypocritical acceptance of it. He appears a youth whose natural instincts draw him to "el bien del mundo";<sup>2</sup> yet he too has slipped into the system. What revelation of court habits of espionage when he unblushingly explains to fellow-courtiers,

acerqué los ojos  
al agujero de la cerradura!

III, 459-560.

He is destined to be drawn still farther into the inescapable net. For to Zelabo disillusioned by the years, and to idealistic young

<sup>1</sup> III, 235-434.

<sup>2</sup> III, 436.

Diarco alike, Ninias frankly turns for assistance to cover his crime and start his own career. He takes them into his confidence in the tacit way that assures his care for their interests. Both will support the new ruler. Zopiro spoke truer than he knew when he remarked,

Yo no soi el que era.

II, 370.

*Sources.*<sup>1</sup> The main points of the story of Semíramis are to be found in Justin, *Historiae Philippicae*, liber I, cap. 1-2, and in Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, liber II, cap. 1-20.<sup>2</sup> Diodorus gives the most detailed account; he relates the story of Semíramis' birth and infancy,<sup>3</sup> and her marriage to Menón;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For discussion of the sources of the Semíramis legend itself, see W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1905-1915. R. W. Smith in *Ctesias and the Semíramis Legend in English Historical Review*, vol. II (1887), identifies Semíramis with the polygamous goddess Astarte. He considers the reign of mother and son, with the mother predominating, the original form of the myth, since it is in accordance with the people and age which produced it. Nino, the husband-king, he considers a later addition of the story, being derived from Ninias, the son-king, as the people shifted from a matriarchal to a patriarchal concept. Such an adaptation of the legend produced the confusion which results in the story of the incestuous love of the queen for her son.

<sup>2</sup> With Aelianus, *Varia Historia*, liber VII, cap. 1, mentioned below, listed as sources of Semíramis by Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> Liber II, cap. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Liber II, cap. 5.

her visit in disguise to the camp outside the city of Bactria, and her part in its seizure.<sup>1</sup> In fact, Diodorus even ascribes to her the leading of the soldiers who scaled the cliffs; this point is considerably modified in Virués' version. In Diodorus is also found the account of Ninus' offer of his daughter Sosana to Menón in exchange for Semíramis, his threats when Menón refused to exchange, and Menón's suicide by hanging.<sup>1</sup> As in Justin, the death of Ninus in Diodorus is related as a natural one;<sup>2</sup> however, Diodorus adds Athenaeus' affirmation that Semíramis prevailed on Ninus to grant her absolute power for five days, and that she took advantage of her authority to have him jailed.<sup>3</sup> Aelianus, *Varia Historia*, liber VII, cap. I, reports from Dinon that no sooner was she seated on the throne, as a result of her request for five days' rule, than she commanded the Guard to kill the king, and so possessed herself of the Assyrian empire. Justin tells of her disguise as her son, and credits her with justifiable motives:

Haec nec immaturo ausa tradere imperium, nec ipsa palam tractare, tot ac tantis gentibus vix patienter uni viro, nedum feminae parituris, simulat se, pro uxore Nini, filium, pro femina, puerum.

Liber II, cap. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Liber II, cap. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Liber I, cap. I.

<sup>3</sup> Liber II, cap. 20.

For these reasons of state Virués substitutes motives of personal ambition. Justin adds that when she felt herself strong enough she confessed the ruse and continued to hold the respect of her subjects.<sup>1</sup> Diodorus says that she used her authority with the people to have Ninias acclaimed king, because Ninias instigated violence against her,<sup>2</sup> and she had already been warned by an oracle that her son would plot her downfall.<sup>3</sup> In Virués her revelation of the disguise coincides with her establishment of Ninias on the throne; her motives are not disclosed, though it is implied that she expects to continue her power through identifying herself with her son in illicit love. Reference to this incestuous passion is found in Justin, who on these grounds ascribes her murder to Ninias.<sup>1</sup> An account of the unnatural passions to which she was previously prey, alluded to in the play by Ninias and Zelabo, is found in Diodorus, who also quotes Athenaeus as calling her *meretricem elegantis formae*.<sup>2</sup> Her mysterious disappearance and the rumor that she was changed into a pigeon and flew away with a flock of such birds is also in Diodorus.<sup>2</sup> It is he, too, who gives in greatest detail the public works and wars of Semíramis.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Liber I, cap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Liber II, cap. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Liber II, cap. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Liber II, cap. 7-19.

Though the main points of the story are indeed to be found in Justin and Diodorus, the fact is that Virués introduces into his play a variety of detail not included in either,—clear evidence that he must have had access to other sources of information. Common at the time were miscellanies presenting in popular form a great variety of material,—historical, legendary, scientific, etc.,—collected from many classic sources and translated into the vulgar tongue. It is not unlikely that Virués came upon his subject-matter in some such collection. Mérimée suggests the possibility of his having taken the story from the *Suma de todas las cronicas del mundo*, a translation of Jacopo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo.<sup>1</sup> But it is clear that Virués must have had other sources for his play, for the account given in the *Suma* as that in the original<sup>2</sup> leaves unsupported many details verified in other authorities. To supplement the *Suma* Virués may well have

<sup>1</sup> *Suma de todas las Cronicas del mundo*. Llamado en latin Supplementum Cronicarum por Gorge Costilla . . . traduzido de lengua Latina y Toscana en esata Castellana: por Narcis Viñoles 1510. . . .

“El autor de este libro fué, según unos, frai Diego de Bergamo, y según Garibai en el tomo L, lib. IX de la *Historia de España*, Filiberto Jacobo Bérghamo; Nic. Ant. *Bibl. Nova*, II, 336 le llama Jacobo Felipe.”—P. Salvá y Mallen, *Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá*, Valencia, 1872, núm. 2775.

<sup>2</sup> Jacobi Philippi Bergomensis *Opus praeclarum Supplementum chronicarum*, Venice, 1490; *De memorabilibus et claris mulieribus*, Paris, 1521, are the editions consulted.

used the *Varia Leci3n* of Pedro Mexía,<sup>1</sup> an account including many important points not given by the *Suma*, but lacking several found in the latter.<sup>2</sup> But again, even the use of both these Spanish compilations would fail to supply all the data employed by Virués.<sup>3</sup>

We are, then, forced to the conclusion that, even though Virués may have first discovered his story in the Spanish versions, for additional

<sup>1</sup> Pedro Mexía, *Silva de Varia Leci3n*, Zaragoza, 1555, includes a 5th and 6th part by an anonymous writer, not reappearing again until the edition of Madrid, 1669. The most important material on Semíramis is found in Part VI, ch. 1-2. I have not seen the edition of 1555; it is cited by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, vol. II, p. xxxv. My citations have been drawn from the edition of León de France, 1556, and, in the case of the sixth part, from the edition of Madrid, 1669.

<sup>2</sup> Details in which the two supplement each other: Mexía gives story of Semíramis' birth, her nurture by pigeons, Menón's suicide by hanging and the incident of the toilet interrupted by the quelling of a rebellion; the *Suma* records the killing of her lovers and a brief account of her conquests.

<sup>3</sup> Neither gives the request for five days' rule nor the killing of Nino. One finds

In Sabellicus only: name Escaurotes (III, 643); 300 towers (III, 699); sculpture of Semíramis and 100 of her *ladies* (III, 702).

In Diodorus only: restoration of kingdom to son (Act II).

In Herodotus only: use of bitumen from the river Is (III, 694). Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, London, 1863, vol. II, p. 65 foot-note, expresses the opinion that Virués took his description of Babylon from Herodotus. If so, he supplemented it elsewhere; this is the only detail not found in other sources.

In *Opus praeclarum Supplementum chronicarum* only: name Zameis.

details he went to the classic sources<sup>1</sup> they cite,—Diodorus, Sabellicus, Herodotus, perhaps Justin and Aelianus. There is every reason to suppose that Virués had access to these historians and made use of them, for their frequent publication<sup>2</sup> in the course of the 16th century indicates the fervor with which Humanists were studying them.

There can be no question that Virués made careful, even scholarly, preparation of the historic material of the *Semíramis*. His additions to the tales as he found them are slight: the ruse of Semíramis, ascribing supernatural translation to Nino to satisfy the people, and the seclusion of Ninias to keep him out of the way, are justifiable as necessary to the verisimilitude of the story. Critics<sup>3</sup> have not been slow to point out the anachronism of introduc-

<sup>1</sup> Ticknor thought the editor of *La gran Semíramis*, London-Leipzig, 1858, wrong in supposing that Virués got his history second-hand.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, Genova, 1559; Basil, XIV-XX, 1539; Paris, 1559; Fr. trans. Paris, 1535, 1554; Eng. trans. London, 1569; It. trans. Florence, 1526, Venice, 1575. Sabellicus, *Rapsodie Historiarum*, Ascensio, 1504. Herodotus, Basileae, 1557 (Latin). Justinus, *Historiae Philippicae*, Venice, 1522; Leipzig, 1514; Paris, 1581. Aelianus, *Opera, quae extant, omnia*, Tiguri, 1568; It. trans. Venice, 1550; Eng. trans. London, 1576.

<sup>3</sup> Montiano y Luyando, *Discurso sobre las tragedias españolas*, Madrid, 1750, pp. 37-45; Martínez de la Rosa, *Apéndice sobre la tragedia española*, in *Obras Completas*, Paris, 1845, vol. I, pp. 60-66; Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, Toulouse, 1913, p. 353.

ing vestal virgins in an eastern empire where sacred prostitution was much more in keeping with religious ideals than sacred celibacy.<sup>1</sup> However, on examining the other invented episode,—Semíramis' account to her people of the disappearance of Nino,—one is even more struck by Virués' faithfulness to eastern conceptions, according to which<sup>2</sup> a dying monarch after an ascent resembling the flight of a bird<sup>3</sup> was welcomed to the heavens by his father, the great sun god, in whose nature he then participated and in whose realm he enjoyed a blessed existence. The *Pyramid Texts* discuss the rite of fire<sup>4</sup> and that of water<sup>5</sup> in this reception. Equally true to eastern thought is Ninias' fiction of his mother's translation. Her trans-

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1922, vol. I, ch. IV.

<sup>2</sup> See J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912, pp. 100-110.

<sup>3</sup> Nino ascended in a chariot drawn by swans.

<sup>4</sup> el gran Bello arrojó a su amado hijo,  
.....  
un fuego bivo, con que en biva llama  
todo le convirtió, del pie a la frente.

*La gran Semíramis*, II, 508-511.

See J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1922, vol. I, p. 179, for discussion of fire as purgative to burn away the mortal and leave the divine, as a means of raising the victim to the rank of a god.

<sup>5</sup> Luego tras esto su querido Iuno,  
sacando un vaso transparente i rico,  
le rozió con un cristal potable. . . .

*Sem. II*, 412-414.

formation into a dove not only recalls her early association with these birds, and accords with the account offered by Diodorus in Book II, chapter 20, but conforms to the *Pyramid Texts* which state that a monarch "must commit himself to the air and make the ascent to the sky . . . like the hawk, . . . like a falcon . . . as a goose."<sup>1</sup> And this flight is eastward.<sup>2</sup> That Virués attributed to one ancient people the customs of another is certainly less astonishing than the fact that he showed a grasp of other details whose accuracy is now attested by modern research workers in the field of eastern religious thought.

*Other Semiramis Plays.* In *La Semiramide Tragedia* di Muzio Manfredi<sup>3</sup> much less of the historical material is used; the whole plot is built about fiction based on Justin's single sentence: *Ad postremum cum concubitum filii petisset, ab eodem interfecta est.* Though the prologue is recited by the shades of Menón and Nino, they do not figure in the action of the play. For Manfredi's tragedy observes

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Sem.* III, 764; Breasted, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> "La Semiramis Tragedia di Mutio Manfredi. . . . In Bergamo, per Comin Ventura, 1593. . . . Credo sia questa la tragedia del Manfredi, che il principe Vincenzo Gonzaga voleva far recitare nel 1583 (v. D'Ancona, II, p. 423 n.); la *Semiramis* allora non era pubblicata, ma certo composta, e già nota a parecchi: nell'anno stesso l'Ingegneri aveva scritto contra di essa."—F. Neri, *La Tragedia Italiana*, Firenze, 1904, p. 142, note (5).

the unities, and hence presents only the last day of Semíramis' life, that is, events immediately preceding her murder at the hands of her son. Manfredi's additions to the legend motivate the prince (here known as Nino, as in many of the old histories) more convincingly than the more strictly historical account given by Virués, and give the drama the distinction of welding into one themes of *Phaëdra*, *Oedipus* and *Orbecche*. When Semíramis orders her son to marry her, she also orders Dirce, a lady of the court, to marry her general. This precipitates the revolt of Nino and Dirce, and the announcement of their marriage of seven years' standing. Semíramis veils her fury, disarms Nino by a pretense of forgiveness, and then, under cover of attiring Dirce for a public wedding ceremony which shall enjoy royal sanction, she binds her, forces her to witness the brutal slaying of her two little children and then kills her. Grief-stricken Nino is goaded to action by the appearance in a dream of his father who demands from him the death of Semíramis in revenge for his own murder. Before Nino can steel himself for the crime, word comes to him, the son who repulsed his shameless mother with curses upon incestuous love, that the beloved Dirce was his sister, daughter of Semíramis. Confronted now by Semíramis' order to marry her or die on the

spot, he seizes his sword and slays her. Shortly afterwards, half-crazed at the thought of the *macchia enorme*, the cruel losses, and the crime of matricide that darkens his days,

nel volto diventò di neve;  
E volendo seguir, di vece in vece  
Singhiozzò, chiuse gli occhi, e spirò l'alma.

There seems to be no relation between the play of Virués and that of Manfredi, unless, indeed, the one suggested to the other the selection of the legend for tragic treatment.

Both Lope de Vega and Calderón wrote plays on the Semíramis legend. Of Lope's play unfortunately nothing has survived<sup>1</sup> but the title—*La Semíramis*, preserved to us in Lope's own list of his plays contained in the *Prólogo* to *El peregrino en su patria*, published 1604. Calderón, under title *Hija del aire*, *Parte I* and *Parte II*, composed two full plays, both presented "to their Majesties in the Royal Salon of the Palace."

Like Manfredi, Calderón is much less faithful to history<sup>2</sup> than Virués; using the mere outline of the story he varies and embellishes it to suit

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Rennert, in *Bibliography of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega Carpio*, comments "nothing is known of the play." Barrera: "Inédita ¿perdida?"

<sup>2</sup> E. Haskell, *Calderón*, Philadelphia, writes—"The great Semíramis steps forth at his call from her legendary cloud-land—undisturbed and uncontradicted by any true chronicle of her times."

his fancy. Action of *Parte I* begins while Semíramis is still in Ascalon, not a carefree girl brought up by a shepherd foster-father, as the record has it, but a half-wild thing, dressed in the skins of animals, kept in the closest seclusion in a mysterious temple of Venus on an island in the midst of a magic lake. Her foster-father is Tiresias, a priest of Venus, who thus guards her because he has learned through an oracle that she will bring terrors to the world, overwhelming even the "most unconquerable king." The story of her birth Calderón leaves practically unchanged except that her mother is Arceta, instead of Derceta, and dies at her birth, instead of plunging into the lake and becoming a fish-goddess. To the story of the feeding of the babe by pigeons Calderón adds that the birds defend her from attacks of beasts; this symbolizes the struggle of Venus and Diana for supremacy in her. Symbolic, too, is her entrance into public life; the war bugles and the love music which accompany the coming of King Nino to Ascalon rouse her from her lethargy and she demands of Tiresias her freedom. This he denies her, but Menón comes and rescues her. Fearing the oracle, Menón too keeps her in a secluded home. But one day Nino comes upon her straying in the woods, falls desperately in love with her, and carries her off to court, where the Infanta Irene

is her rival for the love of Menón. When Nino discovers Menón attempting to obtain a private interview with Semíramis, he threatens him with death; Semíramis intervenes, the sentence is softened to imprisonment; again she intervenes, again Nino yields, but secretly orders Menón blinded. Nino then makes love to Semíramis and she threatens him with a dagger. The play ends in a storm—Diana and Venus struggling again for supremacy in Semíramis.

The opening act in *Parte II* is built around the incident of the toilette interrupted by the quelling of a rebellion (see *La gran Semíramis*, III, 703–711). Lidoro enters the room where Semíramis is combing her hair, and announces that he is heading a rebellion to unseat her in favor of Nimias.<sup>1</sup> Lidoro and Semíramis go out to lead their respective forces. One hears the noise of battle; presently Lidoro returns in chains and Semíramis finishes combing her hair. Nevertheless the populace welcomes Nimias entering the city and hails him as king. Semíramis, furious at this turn of affairs, hastens into voluntary retirement. Nimias enters upon his reign with clemency and pardon for all, including Lidoro, but Frisas, favorite of Semíramis, loses his high position. Semíramis now connives with Frisas the kid-

<sup>1</sup> Spelled *Ninyas* or *Nino* in the records.

napping of Nimias who is confined to a distant dungeon while Semíramis assumes his clothes and rule, but reverses all his orders, including the pardon to Lidoro. She restores all honors to Frisas and even promises him Astrea, the sweetheart of Nimias. The apparent change in policy precipitates a revolt against the supposed Nimias. The real Semíramis dies in the conflict, and the people, seeking their queen whom they believe in retirement, release Nimias who is thus restored to his throne and to the beloved Astrea.

Besides the addition of such elements of the plot as concern the fictitious characters Lidoro, Irene<sup>1</sup> and Astrea,<sup>2</sup> and a twisting of chronology which places Semíramis' disguise as her son after instead of before his ascent to the throne (in history accomplished through her support and authority), we have in Calderón the usual insertion of comic scenes<sup>3</sup> quite irrelevant to the main plot and very loosely connected with it.

While it is clear that Calderón's plot owes nothing to those of Virués and Manfredi, certain details seem to have their origin in their

<sup>1</sup> The only woman, other than Semíramis, associated with Menón in the historical accounts is *Sosana*, daughter of Nino.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps suggested by Manfredi's invention of *Dirce*, wife of Ninias.

<sup>3</sup> In these figure Chato, his wife and her lover, the soldier of generous appetite.

plays. The plan for Astrea to marry Frisas echoes Manfredi's account of Semíramis' order to Dirce, Ninias' wife, to marry her general. The idea of the seclusion of Nimias forced upon him by Semíramis, is certainly taken from Virués. One might suspect that from Virués Calderón took the legend itself,<sup>1</sup> were there not in Act I of Part II a description of the inefficiency of Nimias, contrasting the manliness of the mother and the effeminacy of the son in the manner of Diodorus, II: 21, a point not even remotely suggested by Virués.

In the *Semíramis* of Voltaire<sup>2</sup> the legend loses much of its original tone. Semíramis' heroic proportions are gone; it is not she who deprives Ninias of his rights; Assur, her unscrupulous governor, tricks her, plotting the murder of her heir to make room for himself. Happily his plans miscarry; the child escapes

<sup>1</sup> " . . . la composición de Virués . . . ha servido a Calderón para la traza de la suya, aunque aprovechando sólo algunos de sus toscos materiales"—A. Schack, *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático de España*, Madrid, 1885, vol. IV, p. 401, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The libretto of Rossini's famous opera *Semiramide*, first produced in Venice, 1823, was written by Rossi and is an adaptation of this play of Voltaire, previously set to music by Graun, 1754 and Catel, 1803. The Semíramis story inspired also the librettos of Moniglia, Apostolo Zeno and Silvani, for which no less than 21 operas were composed by masters of the eighteenth century. Metastasio's *Semiramide Riconosciuta* was set to music by Vinci, Porpora, Cocchi, Sarti, Traetta, Meyerbeer and Gluck. See S. Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. III, London and New York, 1890.

and is brought up as son of Phradate, under the name of Arzace, and his identity is unsuspected. Hence when the remorseful Semíramis, seeking to satisfy the oracle she has consulted in her anxiety to appease Nino, plans to marry Arzace, she is quite unconscious of the crime of incest. Ninias is equally innocent of deliberate matricide, for he kills Semíramis in the darkness of Nino's tomb, believing that he is slaying Assur, whom he has learned to be the poisoner of his father Nino. Voltaire's version includes the love affair of Arzace and Azema, claimed by Assur, but lacks the fiendish opposition of Semíramis characterizing the *Semiramide* of Muzio Manfredi, which the situation otherwise suggests. It is exceedingly unlikely that Voltaire had any knowledge of Virués, long since obscured by his more brilliant successors; certainly their handling of the tale offered by the historians is very different. It is, however, interesting to consider something of the dramatic history of this legend which Virués was among the first to utilize.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the edition of *La gran Semíramis* of Virués, published by Williams and Norgate, London-Edinburgh, 1858, the *Preface* states as a principal aim of the edition the recovery from oblivion of a source of "splendid and beautiful Poetical Legend, . . . celebrated throughout the world" by "inspired productions of numerous great poets in different ages and nations."

## LA CRUEL CASANDRA

*Summary. Act I:* As the Prince is puzzling over the strange behaviour of his mistress Fulgencia, Casandra enters and requests a private interview. She bespeaks the Prince's mercy to her brother Fabio, who, she claims, has incurred Fulgencia's anger because he defended the character of the favorite Filadelfo whom Fulgencia slandered as the accepted lover of the Prince's bride. Hardly is this story finished when Fulgencia enters, also requesting a private interview. She claims that Fabio has dishonored her, the Prince's mistress, alleging as his excuse the fact that the Prince has shown the same disregard of the honor of his sister Casandra. The bewildered Prince desires proof of the truth of one or the other of these stories, either of which involves an affront to his royal person. An interview between Casandra and Fabio discloses to the public the fact that they are plotting against Filadelfo, Fulgencia and the Princess from motives of ambition, jealousy and wounded pride. But a break between the conspirators is foreshadowed when Casandra encourages her lover Leandro to disregard her brother's objections to him. Fabio swears vengeance upon Leandro's impudence, and gives Tancredo, a younger brother, authority to resort even to violence to thwart the lovers. *Act II:*

Filadelfo has long sought in vain the favor of Casandra. She now lures him into the Princess' apartment by promising to meet him there and give him proof of her affection. Fabio, who has promised the Prince evidence of the Princess' guilt in proof of the truth of Casandra's story, brings him to the Princess' apartment that he may find Filadelfo in hiding there. Fabio's men refuse Leandro entrance to the lists. When Casandra rebukes Fabio for this, he openly declares his intention of killing Leandro. Casandra pretends submission, but resolves to have her way at any cost. *Act III:* The Prince announces that he has killed Filadelfo and now seeks the Princess. Matías reports to Casandra the duel and simultaneous deaths of Tancredo and Leandro. Bent on vengeance, Casandra sends Matías to summon Fabio to a *tête-à-tête* with Fulgencia, and when the Prince returns to announce his murder of the Princess, Casandra tells him that she fears that Fulgencia is in danger. He rushes out to her assistance, followed by Casandra who presently returns to tell how the Prince, furious upon finding Fabio urging unwelcome attentions upon Fulgencia, killed him on the spot; now Fulgencia, attempting to separate the two, received a mortal wound, as did Casandra herself. In fact the latter lives only long enough to com-

plete the tale and gasp out a death-bed confession of guilt just as the King and his attendants rush out upon the stage.

*Theme.* Virués definitely announces in this play that his purpose is to disclose the evils of court life.<sup>1</sup> Once more we see the devastation wrought by unscrupulous ambition, by undisciplined passion and pitiless vengeance. But one glimpses also a less familiar line of thought. One wonders if Virués is approaching, back in the sixteenth century, the rising peril of the feministic movement. For Casandra was obviously a rebel to the existing order for feminine society, and Tancredo was a martyr to conservatism. One cannot, however, be exactly sure of Virués' own attitude. For he himself had endowed Casandra with brains. Or are they too one—perhaps chief—of her vices? One could wish here a philosophical soliloquy on the part of a disinterested spectator.

*Observations.* Virués seeks to add weight to the authority of *La cruel Casandra* by supposing the hero heir to the throne of Leon. However, no circumstance other than his title suggests historical authenticity, and we have apparently a play in which fancy reigns supreme.<sup>2</sup> The intricate plot may be Virués' own invention, but one suspects that he is here following one or more romantic tales.

<sup>1</sup> See *Cas.*, *Trag.* 1-8.

<sup>2</sup> H. Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique*, p. 342.

In this play Virués seems to have deliberately set out to develop the quality of suspense. He first rouses the curiosity of the public by presenting a prince out of sorts. Why? Some one else's bad humor has depressed him. Whose? Fulgencia's. And why is she upset? She is coming and will tell herself. But before she arrives Casandra appears with a tale that casts suspicion on that of Fulgencia even before it can be told. Which woman is intriguing, which sincere? <sup>1</sup> Not until line 508 is the real deceiver revealed by Fabio's question:

Al fin, ermana mía, ¿que me dizes  
que el Príncipe creyó tu engaño?

What has been clever in Act I becomes stupid artifice in the remaining acts where long interposed dialogues or discourses interrupt the course of the action.

The play is the most complicated of the collection. The reader is confused not so much because of its intricacies, as by its obscurities. At first Casandra seems to be plotting against the Princess and Filadelfo because of indignation at slights she and Fabio have received; then it appears that she is primarily interested in shielding her brother's misbehavior with Fulgencia. To keep the Prince from believing Fulgencia's report about

<sup>1</sup> Virués has weakened suspense here by the clue given to the public in the title.

Fabio, she tells a different story, involving Fulgencia's declaration that the Princess is accepting Filadelfo as lover. By proving to the Prince that this gossip she attributes to Fulgencia is true, apparently Casandra expects to convince him that Fulgencia's own story to him is false. The logic is certainly not obvious. Then we discover that her motive is not, after all, primarily to protect Fabio; she protects him merely to win his consent to her affair with Leandro. When this is refused and Leandro's death is brought about, Casandra plans Fabio's death as eagerly as she planned his protection. Casandra's attitude to Fulgencia is hard to determine; once indeed she urges Fabio to kill her, but whether to silence her accusations before the Prince or because of some petty jealousy, is unrevealed. If Casandra is puzzling as heroine, other characters are no less so. Near the close of Act I we learn that the fiesta which forms the setting is in celebration of the Prince's wedding. The groom however gives his bride no thought until her infidelity is suggested. The king is introduced apparently for the sole purpose of serving as lone survivor to express mystification at the multiple murders.

There is a strange series of repetition within the play. Not only Tancredo and Leandro but Fabio and the Príncipe mutually adminis-

ter death in a way surely not common in duelling. Though Fabio knew that Casandra had lured Filadelfo to his death by a false summons from a hitherto resisting sweetheart, she repeats the ruse most successfully with him.

### ATILA FURIOSO

*Summary.* *Act I* reveals the situation existing in the court of Atila: the King amuses his leisure hours with Flaminia whom his whim has disguised as page; his queen, as faithless as Atila himself, has set her affection upon this page; Gerardo, a courtier, cherishes a secret passion for the Queen. Flaminia, pursued by the Queen, promises requital of her love; likewise she encourages the hopes of Gerardo. *Act II* discloses the motive of Flaminia's intrigue. Though the King professes to love her above all women, he regards her only as a play-thing,

Pues yo no podré subirte  
donde mereces subir.

I, 379-380.

In order, then, to make room for herself upon the throne, she arranges that the King shall witness a love scene between Gerardo and the Queen. This is easily effected by delivering to Gerardo the scarf which the Queen gave Flaminia as a token of identification in

the dark. The plans work out with the precision of a well-oiled machine, for Atila of course kills the Queen. But an unforeseen obstacle suddenly arises to prevent the expected sequence of events. The headstrong Atila falls violently in love with the captive queen Celia, and he forces her upon the throne the murder of his Queen has left vacant. Thwarted, Flaminia's intrigue now turns upon vengeance. *Act III* portrays this vengeance. A horrified courtier opens the act by relating how, in the midst of the wedding festivities, Atila killed his bride Celia. This sudden burst of madness was induced by a poison administered to him by Flaminia, who witnesses his ravings and sufferings. At length catching sight of Flaminia whom he takes for Death itself, Atila strangles her, just as he himself falls dead from the effects of the destructive poison she gave him.

*Theme.* As usual a degenerate court furnishes the moral: unbridled passion brings the Queen, Gerardo and Atila to violent ends; unbridled ambition is overturned by a chance turn of Fortune; the weaver of plots is caught in the meshes of her own web.

*Historical Sources.* There is authority for much of the background of *Atila furioso*. The facts which served as a starting point for his plot Virués probably drew from the *Suma de*

*todas las cronicas*,<sup>1</sup> or its Latin original<sup>2</sup> or the Italian translation.<sup>3</sup> This reading he must somewhere have supplemented, possibly with the *Cronica general*.<sup>4</sup> There are one or two passages that suggest acquaintance with Jornandes<sup>5</sup> though it is very doubtful whether Virués would have sought Latin sources for a tragedy where historic fact plays so secondary a part.

For certainly he is much less faithful to authorities here than in *Elisa Dido* and *La gran Semíramis*, since he supplies not only the plot but many of the details which have the air of history. For example, in *Semíramis*, *Alexandro*<sup>6</sup> is the only name directly connected with historical episode which I have been unable to verify in the historians, whereas in *Atila furioso* there are many which do not

<sup>1</sup> Suma de todas las Cronicas del mundo, llamado en latin Supplementum Chronicarum, por Gorge Costilla . . . traducido de lengua Latina y Toscana en esata Castellana: por Narcis Viñoles, 1510, pp. CCLV-CCLVI. Mérimée suggests this as Virués' source, *L'Arte dramatique*, p. 349, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Jacobi Philippi Bergomensis *Opus praeclarum Supplementum chronicarum*, Venice, 1490.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobi Philippi Bergomensis *Supplementum Supplementi*, Venice, 1510.

<sup>4</sup> *N. B. A. E.*, vol. V.

<sup>5</sup> *At.* I, 390 and II, 195-219 suggest *De Rebus Geticis* in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. I, cap. xxxv & cap. xl.

<sup>6</sup> I, 90.

appear in the authorities I have consulted:<sup>1</sup> *Valerio de Sicilia, cautivo en Lipar*,<sup>2</sup> *Lario, gobernador de Ratisbona, visitor de Nuremberg*,<sup>3</sup> *Celia*, queen of Dalmacia,<sup>4</sup> *Guillermo*, king of Esclavonia.<sup>5</sup> Nor do I find authority for the episode of the quartering of the three brothers who plotted the escape of their father imprisoned for debt,<sup>6</sup> the mutilation of the ambassador from Italy,<sup>7</sup> the starving of the women taken prisoners in Bohemia,<sup>8</sup> though these atrocities, if fictions invented by Virués, are at least in keeping with his historically recorded policies; for example

. . . fue tanto cruel que dentro hizo murir alos que abitauan en ella, no perdonando a qualidad ni a edad ninguna.

*Suma de todas las cronicas.*

<sup>1</sup> Ammiani Marcellini *Rerum gestarum*, liber XXXI, ii, 1-25; Ex *Historia Byzantina* Prisci Rhetoris et Sophistae, excerpta de *Legationibus ad Romanos*, Niebuhr, Bonn, 1829; Ex *Historia Gothica* Prisci Rhetoris et Sophistae, excerpta de *Legationibus Romanarum ad Gentes*, Niebuhr, Bonn, 1829; Jornandes, *De Rebus Geticis*, Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (1723), vol. I, cap, xxiv-xlii; Ex *Vita Ms. Sancti Aniani Episcopi Aurelianensis*. Du Chesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores Coaetanei* (1636) vol. I, p. 521, reprinted in Edward Hutton, *Attila and the Huns*, New York, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> I, 252.

<sup>3</sup> I, 267.

<sup>4</sup> II, 404.

<sup>5</sup> II, 256.

<sup>6</sup> I, 275.

<sup>7</sup> I, 285.

<sup>8</sup> I, 291.

Nobis autem iter conficientibus et in vico quodam commorantibus captus est vir Scythia, qui a Romanis explorandi gratia in barbaram regionem descenderat, quem crucis supplicio affici Attilas praecepit. Postridie etiam dum per alios vicos progredieremur, duo, qui apud Scythas serviebant, manibus vincti post terga trahebantur, quod his, quos belli casus dominos fecisset, vitam eripuisset. Hos, immissis inter duo ligna uncis praedita capitibus, in cruce necarunt.

*Ex historia gothica Prisci rhetoris et sophistae  
—excerpta de Legationibus Romanorum ad  
Gentes, Niebuhr, Bonn, 1829.<sup>1</sup>*

Of the plot itself, only the death of Attila is drawn from history and that from conflicting accounts. In placing it in the drunken orgy of Attila's wedding night, Virués follows authority:

Este Atila ouo en vn tiempo *muchas mugeres*, entre las quales fue Aldoçona que fue muy bella, y durmiendo con ella vna noche le salio tanta sangre que le ahogo.

*Suma de todas las cronicas.*

E assi fué en verdat ca Athila *enbriagosse la noche de su boda* et quebrol por las narizes tanta sangre que se affogo.

*Cronica General, N. B. A. E., vol. V.*

In legend the finger of accusation is raised against the new bride:

<sup>1</sup> From reprint in Edward Hutton, *Attila and the Huns*, New York, 1915.

Suivant les traditions scandinaves Attila fut poignardé par sa jeune épouse.

*Nouvelle Biographie Général*, Paris, 1861.<sup>1</sup>

Virués attributes it to a disgruntled mistress<sup>2</sup> set aside for a new queen, and adds the murder of both bride and mistress.

*Senecan Sources.* In introducing madness Virués was probably drawing upon the two Senecan plays on Hercules. In *Hercules Oetaeus* the hero's malady results from putting on a mysteriously annointed cloak, a gift from his wife Deianira who was jealous of his attentions to the captive Iole.<sup>3</sup> The situation has points analogous to that in *Attila furioso*, though in the latter play it is the mistress who is jealous of the wife, and she intends the magic potion she puts in Attila's wine to madden him, whereas Deianira expected the ointment to act as a love-charm and reawaken Hercules' affection for her. As in *Hercules Furens* the beloved wife Megara is victim of her husband's violence, so in *Attila furioso*<sup>4</sup> the hero's murderous hand

<sup>1</sup> Under the name of Etzel in Teutonic legend he died at the hands of his wife. See the *Nibelungenlied*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare

en breve tiempo despues de muchas *heridas que le dieron ciertos familiares suyos* murio, aunque en vn lugar se le be que se ahogo en su sangre misma.

*Suma de todas las cronicas.*

<sup>3</sup> It may be remarked in passing that in *Her. Fur.* madness was induced by the machinations of a jealous woman—Juno.

<sup>4</sup> Compare titles.

falls first on his new bride. Hercules Oetaeus longs to kill Deianira, author of his fury; Atila does finally kill Flaminia, author of his. *Hercules Furens* furnishes the model for gory description of the brutal murder:

Dextra precantem rapuit et circa furens  
bis ter rotatum misit; ast illi caput  
sonuit, cerebro tecta disperso madent.

1005-1007.

in coniugem nunc clava libratur gravis  
perfregit ossa, corpori trunco caput  
abest nec usquam est.

1025-1026.

Both Senecan plays supply Virués with details of the mad ravings. Note figures used to convey the impression of physical agony:

Con menos bívoras que éstas  
se an comido cien mil pechos.

III, 323-4.

¿Víboras me arrojáis, culebras i áspides?

III, 417.

Heu qualis intus scorpios, quis fervida  
plaga revulsus cancer infixus meas  
urit medullas?

*Her. Oet.* 1218-1220.

Utrumne serpens squalidum crista caput  
vibrans.....?

*Her. Oet.* 1254-1255.

Río y agua me traed,  
si este fuego no os empece;  
que cuanto su llama crece,  
me estoi elando de sed.

III, 231-234.

in en el alma está el dominio  
del fuego de Flegetonte.

III, 249-250.

¡O fuego, que me abrasas las entrañas!  
¡Agua, agua traed, matá esta llama!

III, 527-528.

quae tanta nubes flamma Sicanias secat,  
quae Lemnos ardens, quae plaga igniferi poli  
vetans flaganti currere in zona diem?  
in ipsa me iactate, pro comites, freta  
mediosque in amnes—quis sat est Hister mihi. . . .

*Her. Oct.* 1361-1365.

Observe that the impulse to resist destruction  
expresses itself in terms taken from Seneca:

Dadme aquí montes de pesantes pórfidos  
con que sepulte estos gigantes pérfidos.

III, 425-426.

Bella Titanes parent,  
me duce furentes; saxa cum silvis feram  
rapiamque dextra plena Centauris iuga.  
iam monte gemino limitem ad superos agam;  
videat sub Ossa Pelion Chiron suum,  
in caelum Olympus tertio positus gradu  
perveniet aut mittetur.

*Her. Fur.* 967-973.

From Seneca comes the defiance of heaven:

i la cavallería en tropas trote  
por el inmenso golfo de la Luna.

III, 191-92.

baxaré al infierno  
o subiré al cielo eterno  
con Marte en su quinta esfera.

III, 158-60.

Que en arrimando yo la escala, súbome  
 súbome yo, traidores, al olímpico  
 sobervio Rei tonante, atroz i armígero.

III, 399-401.

Quid hoc? regenti cernitur Trachin iugo  
 aut inter astra positus evasi genus  
 mortale tandem? quis mihi caelum parat?  
 Te te, pater iam video. ' . .

*Her. Oet.* 1432-1435.

Perdomita tellus, tumida cesserunt freta,  
 inferna nostros regna sensere impetus;  
 immune caelum est, dignus Alcide labor.  
 in alta mundi spatia sublimis ferar,  
 petatur aether.

*Her. Fur.* 955-959.

Non capit terra Herculem,  
 tandemque superis reddit. en ultro vocat  
 omnis deorum coetus et laxat fores,  
 una vetante. recipis et reseras polum?  
 an contumacis ianuam mundi traho?

*Her. Fur.* 960-964.

Spectres of destruction haunt and elude the  
 exhausted hero in Virués as in Seneca:

No me persigas más, sombra.  
 ¿Quién me llama? ¿Quién me nombra?  
 Huye, terrible fantasma,  
 el corazón se me pasma  
 i la vida se me assombra.

III, 548-552.

¿Qué es esto, cuerpos i almas; es calambre?  
 ¿Dónde quieres llevarme con tal fuerza?  
 Espera, muerte; vete. ¿Quién te fuerza?

III, 558-560.

Ven, muerte, que al hondo abismo  
asido te e de llevar.

III, 573-4.

Ubi morbus, ubinam est? estne adhuc aliquid mali  
in orbe mecum? veniat; huc aliquis mihi  
intendat arcus—nuda sufficiet manus.  
procedat agedum huc.

*Her. Oet.* 1399-1402.

As Hercules Oetaenus, broken by pain recalls one by one the exploits of his glorious strength,<sup>1</sup> so Atila lives over, though in a confused and contrary sense, his experiences.

*Romanesque Elements.* Starting with a climax based on conflicting tales in history and embellished with Senecan details, Virués proceeded to invent a plot which should prepare for it. The material of this plot is romanesque and strangely familiar. To motivate the murderess he supposes her an ambitious climber who, like Semíramis, uses love as a ladder to power. She disposes of the queen and the king's favorite in Casandra's own style;<sup>2</sup> then at the moment when she plans to ascend the throne she is confronted by the unexpected obstacle of Atila's new love, Celia. Thwarted ambition and jealous love incite her to seek vengeance.

*New Elements.* All this seems the sternest of

<sup>1</sup> As lines 1193-1206; 1651-1652.

<sup>2</sup> It will be noted that we have here merely a variation of the Casandra episode.

tragic stuff; nevertheless the opening scenes of *Atila furioso* have all the air of romantic comedy: Gerardo is in love with Atila's queen, the queen is in love with a girl—Flaminia has assumed the romantic garb of a page—and Flaminia is in love with the king!<sup>1</sup> The plot that Flaminia weaves about this situation has on first appearance the levity of a Shakespeare tangle: she promises the queen a *rendez-vous* and assures Gerardo of his lady's affection. However far the denouement is removed from the jolly solution of *As You Like It* which its earlier scenes suggest, it is not until Flaminia's avowal of her determination to use these loves to win the throne (Jornada II, 137 ff.), that the situation assumes the aspect of tragedy.<sup>2</sup> With Atila's advances to Celia (Jor. II, 504) Flaminia's ruthless plans become more threatening; the consummation of her vengeance makes of the last act a veritable frenzy of catastrophe.

*Observations.* Jornada III is the most poorly constructed act in Virués' theatre. Celia was last seen in Act II valiently resisting Atila. The public is not prepared for the abrupt announcement in the first lines of Jornada III that Celia not only married Atila but has

<sup>1</sup> This situation suggests the *Metamorfosea* of Joaquín Romero de Cepeda, 1582.

<sup>2</sup> Until this point Virués depends on the ferocious orders of the bloodthirsty Atila to lend tragic tone to the play, though these orders have no connection with the plot. It may be observed however, that they do supply material for the subsequent ravings.

already died at his hand. The rest of the act consists of his mad delirium, terminating in a fatal blow to Flaminia after which he himself falls dead. Sententious remarks of courtiers at length bring to a close the *jornada* which, almost devoid of action, has dragged on through a seemingly endless labyrinth of incoherent ravings.

Mediaeval history, classic tragedy, contemporary romantic comedy have all had a share in the composition of *Atila furioso*; the combination is not a happy one; the *Atila*, though less obscure than the *Casandra*, is dramatically the least well constructed of the plays. Moreover, not a character stands out clearly individualized. The bombastic Atila, a monstrosity rather than a personality, is, after all, like most other heroes in Virués drama, but the dupe of a woman. Flaminia is the usual clever, unscrupulous female; one remembers her, however, less distinctly than any of the other Virués superwomen: Dido, Semíramis, Casandra, even Felina, have individuality within the type; Flaminia is distinguishable in the group only because of her romantic page attire.

*Another Atila Play.* Luis Vélez de Guevara wrote *Atila, azote de Dios*.<sup>1</sup> How far it is

<sup>1</sup> Hurtado y Palencia, *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1922, p. 697, in noting the Atila play of Vélez Guevara mention the earlier play by Virués.

removed in character from the play of Virués may be judged by a mere glance at the list of characters quoted by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori: *Luis Vélez de Guevarà y sus Obras dramáticas*, Madrid, 1917, p. 69:

*Atila, azote de Dios*: Entran—Atila—Leoncio—Sidomira—Alarico—Claudio—Teodoro—El Papa—El Rey de España—El Rey de Francia—El Emperador—El Rey de Inglaterra—Camilo, villano—Anselmo sacerdote—Marcelo, romano—Duque de Ferrera (sic) Federico—Rufino—Niño Jesús.

#### LA INFELICE MARCELA

*Summary. Act I:* Marcela barely escaping shipwreck with her companions Alarico, Ismenio and Tersilo, mourns their misfortune chiefly because it delays her rejoining her husband Landino. Alarico assures her that she shall soon be with Landino again, but after sending Ismenio to Compostela to fetch a carriage for her, he reveals to Tersilo his passion for Marcela. When he sees that Tersilo will resist him in his treachery, he attempts to kill him. Marcela flees; Alarico follows her. Ismenio on his return finds only the wounded Tersilo whom he hurries off to Compostela for care. Alarico soon overtakes Marcela, but his violent suit is interrupted for he takes to his heels at the sudden appearance of a robber band. Formio, captain of the bandits, sets out

in pursuit of him, first, however, handing over to his wife Felina the captive Marcela. The opportune arrival of Oronte, a lord whose castle is in the vicinity, saves the princess from harsh treatment at the hands of Felina. Felina is infuriated when Oronte carries off Marcela, and she swears that Formio shall make Oronte pay dearly for his interference. *Act II*: The bandits return with Alarico with whom Felina straightway falls in love. At the instigation of Felina they set out again in pursuit of Oronte and Marcela, whom they presently bring back. Formio now falls in love with the fair captive. Felina overhears his impassioned protestations and determines to poison him. Formio overhears a love scene between Alarico and Felina and plans to poison Felina. Meanwhile two shepherds, Silvio and Montano, happen upon Landino on his way to Compostela to meet the ship on which he is expecting his wife, the princess Marcela. When they realize that the captive Marcela is the princess that Landino awaits, they see an opportunity to take vengeance on the hated robbers they are forced to serve and to better their own condition. *Act III*: Accordingly they arrange with Landino to lead him and his men into the robber cave by an unguarded secret entrance. But when after overpowering the bandits, Landino seeks Marcela, he finds her dead—the innocent victim of

a poisoned cake Felina prepared for Formio and a poisoned beverage Formio prepared for Felina. Landino is scarcely restrained from suicide.

*Source.* The situation of the *La infelice Marcela* is that of Isabel in *Orlando Furioso*, Cantos XII, XIII, XX, XXIII, XXIV.<sup>1</sup> Isabel is the original of Marcela, Zerbino of Landino, Odorico of Alarico, Corebo of Tersilo, Almonio of Ismenio, Gabrina of Felina, the robber-chief of Formio and Orlando of Oronte.

Isabel, daughter of the King of Galicia, fell in love with Zerbino, Prince of Scotland, when he appeared in the jousts in her father's court tournament. She was a Saracen and he a Christian; to prevent opposition to their marriage on this account, they decided to elope. Since he was obliged by his father to bear aid to the King of France, he could not himself return to get Isabel, but sent his trusted friend Odorico.<sup>2</sup> A severe storm forced Odorico and two others, Almonio and Corebo, to put off to sea in a small boat with Isabel. They reached shore safely, but the ship with all their treasure

<sup>1</sup> H. Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique*, p. 354, and J. P. W. Crawford, *Drama before Lope*, p. 178, refer to Canto XIII.

<sup>2</sup> This is the story that Isabel tells Orlando in Canto XIII; except for nationalities and the difficulty of religion it corresponds exactly to Alarico's tale to Felina, *La infelice Marcela*, Parte II, 312-382.

and all their companions sank. As soon as they landed, Isabel prayed: <sup>1</sup>

A l'eterna bontade, a l'infinito  
Amor, rendendo grazie, le man stesi,  
Che non m'avesse dal furor marino  
Lasciato tor di riveder Zerbino.

Canto XIII.

Her anxiety was not for the lost jewels, but for her beloved Zerbino: <sup>2</sup>

Come ch'io hauesi sopra el legno e vesti  
Lasciato, e gioie, e l'altre cose care  
Pur che la speme di Zerbin mi resti  
Contenta son, che s'habbia il resto el mare.

Canto XIII.

Almonio appears to have been dispatched to a neighboring city for horses; <sup>3</sup> on his return he found that his companions had disappeared. Following foot-prints, he finally traced Corebo, whom he found in the woods severely wounded. His inquiries evidently brought forth an account

<sup>1</sup> Cf.

¡O tierra, nuestra madre tan piadosa!  
besarte quiero, i todos te besemos,  
pues sin temor de la alta mar furiosa  
salvos en tu regazo ya nos vemos.

*Mar. I, 9-12.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf.

Que aunque el sobervio viento porfiado  
i el gran rigor del ímpetu marino  
mis galas i mis joyas me a quitado  
con su furor airado i repentino,  
pues la dulce esperanza me a dexado  
de ver a mi dulcíssimo Landino  
con vuestra amparo i diligencia i guía,  
tiene consuelo el alma triste mía.

*Mar. I, 33-42.*

<sup>3</sup> Virués presents this in Parte I, 45-56.

of Odorico's appeal to Corebo for assistance in his treacherous suit for Isabel's affections,<sup>1</sup> for after conveying Corebo to the city for care,<sup>2</sup> Almonio set out in search for Isabel and Odorico. The latter was eventually located by Almonio and Corebo in the court of King Alfonso of Biscay. Almonio challenged him to duel, worsted him and held him captive to be delivered to Zerbino.

Meanwhile Isabel must have fallen into the hands of robbers,<sup>3</sup> for it was in a robber cave, wrangling with the hag Gabrina, that Orlando found her.<sup>4</sup> In Ariosto's version Isabel is rescued at this point, for Orlando kills the robber chief and his men and carries off Isabel,<sup>5</sup> eventually delivering her to a grateful Zerbino.<sup>6</sup> The latter dies in her arms at the close of a combat.<sup>7</sup> In her fidelity to Zerbino's memory Isabel plots for her own death at the hands of the Saracen Rodomont who has determined to make her his own.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Parte I, 71 ff. In *Orlando* it is Isabel who tells the story of Odorico's treachery, Canto XXIV.

<sup>2</sup> Note that to this point the story told by Almonio to Zerbino in Canto XXIV is closely followed by Virués.

<sup>3</sup> Virués presents this scene in Parte I, 427 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Canto XII. Cf. Marcela's momentary deliverance by Oronte, I, 506 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Canto XIII.

<sup>6</sup> Canto XXIII.

<sup>7</sup> Canto XXIV.

<sup>8</sup> Cantos XXVIII and XXIX.

The shepherd conspiracy which made possible the taking of the robber band, and the love intrigue of Felina and Formio with the resultant poisoning of Marcela, are additions of Virués which may have been drawn from some other sources. Perhaps the flirtation of Alarico with Felina was suggested by the punishment meted out to Odorico by Zerbino,—that of being inseparable companion of Gabrina for a year.<sup>1</sup> Possibly also Felina's demand for Marcela's clothing can be traced to Gabrina's wearing of the finery of Pinabel's haughty lady, after Marphisa threw him.<sup>2</sup>

*Observations.* Though pastoral tales had long enjoyed dramatic form both in Italy and in Spain, the use of chivalric poetry as a source of tragic plot appears to be new.<sup>3</sup> To lend the tragic touch to such portions of the *Orlando Furioso* as he had selected for his play, Virués had to invent new parts. He added the double vengeance of Formio and Felina and the conspiracy of the shepherds against their robber masters, thus retaining the air of intrigue that pervades his other plays. Even so he had difficulty in maintaining the tragic tone. In spite of the catastrophe that brings

<sup>1</sup> Canto XXIV.

<sup>2</sup> Canto XX.

<sup>3</sup> Andrés Rey de Artieda about this time brought out his comedias *Amadis de Gaula* and *Los encantos de Merlin*, only the titles of which survive.

*La infelice Marcela* to a close one remarks in it a levity observed also in parts of the *Atila furioso*. The fact is, Virués is here straying from the course he seems to have laid out for himself; not only is the tone generally lighter, and bloodshed less in evidence, but here, for the only time, he has introduced characters outside the ranks of nobility, and with them have slipped in something very like *cuadros de costumbres* with their accompanying humor. The scenes in which Felina<sup>1</sup> wrangles with Marcela over her clothes and the lost jewels, and nags Formio to get after Oronte, certainly approach comedy of manners; and we have comedy's time-honored situation of the eaves-dropper who hears ill of himself when she spies on Formio and Marcela and hears

ques essa loca muger  
que tengo en mi compañía  
a quien ya querer solía,  
i ya no podré querer.

Parte II, 553-556.

<sup>1</sup> Humor is inherent in this character; again and again in *Orlando Furioso* Gabrina is the butt of ridicule, as when she dons the clothes of a fine young lady, when Zerbino is struck by the contrast of her raiment and bearing, when constant companionship with her is given as punishment to Odorico which shall bring him the most exquisite humiliation as he becomes an object of laughter. Virués has not used the same comic episodes, but he has not been able to escape the humor of the figure he so rashly introduced into his pure tragedy. H. Dohm, *Die Spanische National-Literatur*, Berlin, 1867, refers to burlesque scenes in Virués' theatre.

It is not so easy here as in the other plays of Virués to determine the theme. Though we recognize many familiar features as infidelity of the courtier, constancy in affection, vengeance rising out of jealousy, moralizing soliloquies, and even have in Felina the inevitable ambitious female who weaves dark plots to gain nefarious ends, we miss insistence upon a definite moral. The fact is that the episodic character of the original has left an imprint even deeper than the author's determined didacticism. That probably accounts also for the unexplained dropping out of the action of Tersilo, who plays no inconsiderable part in the first scene, and the very casual appearance and disappearance of Toribio, who laments the evils of the times, takes to his heels when a lady in distress appeals to him for assistance, and is seen no more!

Felina and Montano, both plebians, are the only characters in the play of any individuality. Landino is the model husband; Oronte the perfect gentlemen; Marcela the ideal wife: all are colorless. Yet the story-book Landino is a pale fourth cousin of Don Quijote himself, who has to be reminded

No te divierta tu amorosa istoria  
tanto aora, señor, que del camino  
perdamos el discurso i la memoria.

Parte II, 61-63.

In fact the love story of Landino and Marcela is much more romantic<sup>1</sup> in quality than any other in Virués' theatre. We have here in contrast to the stern classic chastity of a Dido, and the Senecan violence of a Semíramis or a Casandra, the gentle romantic passion of those convinced

que sentir tanto es fineza.

Parte II, 261.

Despite the fact that Virués in the *Prólogo* of the *Infelice Marcela* addresses his public a bit defiantly,<sup>2</sup> as though he were failing to receive the support he felt due him, but would persist in the face of unpopularity to follow his literary ideals, we undoubtedly have here a number of innovations, due doubtless to the character of the chivalric material he chose, but nevertheless a distinct departure from his

<sup>1</sup> Moratín, *Catálogo* and Montiano, *Discurso* refer to the romanesque character of *Marcela*.

<sup>2</sup> Salgo con voluntad i firme intento  
de procurar el gusto i el regalo  
del que con claro i alto entendimiento  
conoce lo que es bueno i lo que es malo,  
i luego de través el vano viento  
del vulgo, cuyo voto al aire igualo,  
me levanta la mar, pensando cierto  
que estorba de tomar el salvo puerto.  
Esto es assí; mas gran consuelo tengo,  
pues an de ser en mi favor los sabios.  
A quien pues tales son, nada prevengo  
de lo que an de esplicar mis torpes labios;  
con los que no lo son en nada vengo,  
ni temo sus satíricos ressabios;  
pues aunque en rota barca en su mar ande,  
es el favor de los discretos grande.

accustomed manner. May we interpret these innovations as concessions to the rising demands of popular taste? Certainly *La infelice Marcela* approaches much more nearly than any other play of Virués the romantic comedy that was soon to outshine all else.

## CHAPTER III

### VIRUÉS' DRAMATIC ART

#### CLASSICAL TRAGEDY

Though Virués' plays strike the casual reader as singularly out of harmony with the trend of Spanish drama both before and after him, he is a genuinely representative figure of reform movements of no slight moment in his own generation. The years 1575-1590 mark a significant epoch in Spanish drama; not that they are years productive of great masterpieces,—on the contrary, most of the plays prove rather wearisome reading,—but they are years of experimentation fraught with importance for the great drama they precede. Until and after this time the taste of the public largely determined the character of the play; during this period it was viewed more critically by the dramatist, its excellencies measured, its deficiencies weighed, and means sought to impose upon it from above principles of art which should perfect it. Spanish playwrights found Italian dramatists already experimenting with models of antiquity—Sophocles, Euripides and Seneca; many with humanistic tendencies approved the efforts of the Italian imitators, and they too endeavored to produce drama on

classic lines, building up theories and introducing such modifications as seemed suitable. Spanish dramatists differed greatly in the degree to which they accepted ancient precept and followed ancient practice; there are, however, two main tendencies, one toward the production of a strictly classical theatre reserving all the ear-marks of ancient drama, the other tending to move away from the established forms. The plays of Virués reflect both these tendencies: *Elisa Dido* is a tragedy of the first or strict imitation; the other four belong to the second or modified imitation, characteristic of the Senecan school.

The study of classic drama was not new. However, in the beginning the study of the classics had been aesthetic,—men were interested in things classic for the sake of the classics themselves; later the attitude changed, the study became utilitarian,—men were interested in the classics as models for their own creations.<sup>1</sup> Thus among scholars classic drama had received considerable attention during the early part of the century: Latin comedies, sometimes Plautus and Terence, sometimes modern plays in the ancient tongue, were presented in the universities<sup>2</sup> apparently with

<sup>1</sup> See H. Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique*, ch. vi, pp. 282-283.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest school play of which we have any record is the *Hispaniola*, a five-act play in Latin prose written by Juan Maldonado in 1519 and performed in Portugal and in Burgos. The

the aim of popularizing the study and use of Latin; and Spanish translations of both tragedies and comedies<sup>1</sup> made Greek and Roman ideas accessible to the non-academic. But all this had little effect on professional drama, though occasionally, to be sure, classic tales strayed to the popular stage: as early as 1528 Juan Pastor produced his *Farsa o tragedia de la castidad de Lucrecia*, by 1536 an anonymous writer had printed his *Tragedia de los amores de Eneas y de la Reyna Dido*,<sup>2</sup> and in 1559 Timoneda had published his adaptations *Amphitrion* and *Comedia de los Menemnos*. In general classic subject-matter gained little ground outside the universities and it remained for a later genera-

statutes of the University of Salamanca, 1538, mention presentations of Plautus and Terence; Juan de Mal Lara while a student in Salamanca, 1548, wrote *Locusta* and many other tragedies lost to us. There are records of the performance of five Latin plays by the *Studi General* in Valencia between 1531 and 1539; from 1546 to 1574 there appear to have been many plays given in Latin under the direction of Palmyreno.

<sup>1</sup> Translations of comedies: Plautus, *Amphitruus* by Villalobos, 1515, (adapted by Pérez de Oliva 1525); by an anonymous translator, 1554; Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* and *Menaechmi* by an anonymous translator, 1555; six comedies of Terence by Pedro Simón Abril, 1577. Translations of tragedies: adaptation of Sophocles, *Electra*, under title *La Venganza de Agamemnon*, 1528, and adaptation of Euripides, *Hecuba*, under title, *Hecuba triste*, 1586, by Pérez de Oliva. Boscán translated a play of Euripides that was never printed (see Ticknor, *History*, Boston, 1864, vol. II, p. 66), 1543, and Pedro Simón Abril is said to have translated Euripides' *Medea*.

<sup>2</sup> Given by Gallardo, *Ensayo*, vol. IV, col. 1460, no. 4511.

tion to popularize the traditions of the ancients. Classic form made as little impression. Though the *Tragedia Josefina* of Micael de Carvajal, written between 1523 and 1535, has a chorus of maidens and a prologue recited by Envidia,<sup>1</sup> it was but an isolated effort.

Not until 1577 when Jerónimo Bermúdez published his *Nise lastimada* and *Nise laureada* do we have a thorough-going attempt to produce tragedy on classical lines; and this, indeed, owes its existence rather directly to School Drama. For *Nise lastimada* proves to be but a paraphrase of the *Castro* of the Portuguese Antonio Ferreira, a tragedy composed and presented at the University of Coimbra under the influence of tragedies produced there because of George Buchanan's enthusiasm for Euripides and Seneca. The sequel of *Nise lastimada*, *Nise laureada*, product of Bermúdez's unaided efforts, shows only too well how dependent he is upon Ferreira for all that is best in *Nise lastimada*. The *Castro* reflects mainly Greek influence; Seneca is undoubtedly followed, especially in bits of the choral odes, but the actual presentation of horrors is avoided and the style is dignified and elevated, inclined rather to poetry than to declamation. In Bermúdez's version, however, Senecan influence

<sup>1</sup> J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope*, Phila., 1922, p. 61.

is dominant; the role of the chorus is more restricted, the tone is more didactic, there are more Senecan lines;<sup>1</sup> in *Nise laureada* the excesses of Senecan imitation run riot.

The next (and last) Spanish tragedy on strictly classical lines is the *Elisa Dido* of Virués. It is probable that here also we are feeling the influence of School Drama, though the connection is less obvious.<sup>2</sup> In contrast to Ferreira and Bermúdez, Virués selected a subject in itself classic. He used the stock characters of classic tragedy—the ghost, the messenger, the nurse, the tyrant. He aimed at rigid observance of classic form. Unity of time is held; only as much of Dido's story as falls within the last twenty-four hours of her life is included in the action of the tragedy, but classic narration is greatly abused in the five awkwardly inserted installments which relate her story previous to the action of the play.

<sup>1</sup> See J. P. W. Crawford, *Influence of Seneca's Tragedies on Ferreira's CASTRO and Bermúdez's NISE LASTIMADA and NISE LAUREADA*, in *Modern Philology*, vol. XII (1914-15).

<sup>2</sup> "Ne concluez pas que le théâtre humaniste a disparu à Valencia sans laisser de traces. Il a sauvé, malgré toutes ses capitulations, une tradition qui allait être recueillie . . . l'Université a maintenu à Valencia le culte des chefs-d'oeuvre de l'antiquité . . . certains neophytes, Virués par exemple . . . ont voulu reprendre à leur compte et appliquer au grand jour les préceptes jusque là enfermés dans les écoles; de là est sortie une tentative pour créer en espagnol un théâtre conforme aux canons de la beauté antique."—H. Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique*, p. 272.

Unity of place is observed with less strain; yet, though Virués found authority for holding royal audience in the temple of Jupiter,<sup>1</sup> probability is stretched to conceive it a fitting place for lovers' colloquies and women's gossip. The religious character of the original classic chorus is recognized in a chorus composed of temple attendants whose utterances are usually prayers or laments. The choral lyrics which close each act suggest mere interludes, but in Acts IV and V the chorus intervenes in the action.

In notable contrast to the Senecan extravagance found in Virués' other dramas, is the restraint he observes in *Elisa Dido*, notably in the description of the rising of Siqueo's ghost and of the queen's heroic sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> Such restraint suggests the calm of Greek tragedy, and is due to the fact that Virués is here following the example set by Giovan Giorgio Trissino,<sup>3</sup> whose inspiration lay almost

<sup>1</sup> *Elisa Dido* I, II.

<sup>2</sup> As in *Oreste* of Ruccellai, the human sacrifice is handled with the dignity and reverence due to a solemn religious rite.

<sup>3</sup> Giovan Giorgio Trissino was chief of the Italian school that attempted strict classical imitation. He is famous for his *Sofonisba*, the plot of which follows: Sofonisba, though promised to Masinissa, King of the Massuli, was given by her father Hasdrubal in marriage to Siface, King of the Numidians. Masinissa, whose lands were at the mercy of the allies Hasdrubal and Siface, joined the Romans against them. Hasdrubal and Siface are conquered in battle, and Sofonisba falls into the hands of Masinissa, to whom

wholly in the drama of Sophocles and Euripides and the precepts of Aristotle.<sup>1</sup> Trissino's *Sofonisba* offers parallels to *Elisa Dido* in the self-inflicted death of the heroine, the preparation of the private altar for the sacrificial rite and the fortitude of the victim, and probably suggested to Virués the instrument of death provided by the lover himself and his arrival too late to prevent the catastrophe. Delbora's appeal for protection to the general of the army that conquered her people may well derive from Sofonisba's similar appeal to Masinissa, and Ismeria's devotion to Dido may have its original in that of the nurse Erminia who wished to die with Sofonisba.

Unfortunately Virués caught less of Greek spirit than did Trissino. Whereas Trissino uses Masinissa's dilemma when he stands between his word to Sofonisba and the order of his superior as one of the most dramatic incidents of his drama, Virués needlessly sacri-

she appeals to save her from being delivered to the Romans he serves. He listens to her pleas, takes her for his wife and promises that she shall not be given over to her enemies. Then he is ordered to deliver Sofonisba to the Romans. As he can neither disobey nor go back on his word to her, he sends her poison as her only means of escape. Meanwhile he is able to arrange to send her away under cover of night; when he arrives to carry out his plan he finds her already dead upon the altar she prepared for the sacrifice. Lesser dramatists of his school are Ruccellai, Luigi Alamanni, Lodovico Martelli, Pazzi de' Medici.

<sup>1</sup> See F. Neri, *La Tragedia Italiana del Cinquecento*, Firenze' 1904.

fices any struggle Dido may have experienced when faced by the threatened destruction of her people if she kept her vow to Siqueo, by opening the play with the resultant decision. Trissino is also more clever in handling exposition; Sofonisba in a single long narration in the manner of Euripides confides to Erminia in the beginning of the play those parts of her former history which are to have a bearing on the action.

Though varied metre appears in all the other tragedies of Virués, in *Elisa Dido* he, like Bermúdez, uses the hendecasyllabic blank verse<sup>1</sup> established by Trissino as fitting metre for tragedy. In the use of five distinct acts Virués departed from classic usage and from Trissino and followed Giraldi. Quite out of keeping with classic tragedy is Virués' insertion of the sub-plot<sup>2</sup> involving Seleuco, Carquedonio, Ismeria and Delbora. It seems to have had no precedent in the strictly classical imitations, and shows that even in *Elisa Dido* Virués did not wholly escape the influence of the complicated plot of romanesque intrigue which derives from Giraldi.<sup>3</sup> The tendency to Senecan moralizing may likewise be due to Giraldi, though Trissino also furnishes examples of moral declamation.

<sup>1</sup> Except for choruses and Ismeria's lament, V, 339-375.

<sup>2</sup> Observation of the unities so reduced the action that Virués was forced to provide a sub-plot.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 134.

To sum up the character of imitation in *Elisa Dido*: due to the influence of Trissino, it shows less trace of Seneca than of the Greek dramatists, though the moralizing is clearly Senecan. The division into acts is a break from classic usage and comes from Giraldi as does the introduction of the sub-plot. There is nothing classic in *Elisa Dido* that is not also found in Trissino or Bermúdez. However, it is by no means to be assumed that Virués' knowledge of Greek tragedy was restricted to familiarity with Bermúdez, Trissino and his school. Though he probably did not read Greek drama in the original, there seems no good reason to doubt that he knew it in the Spanish forms already noted or in Italian versions.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the classic tragedy of *Elisa Dido*, with its Spanish and its Italian antecedents. It stands last and best in its national group, but there its significance ends, for the *genre* was doomed to extinction in Spain.

#### SENECAN INFLUENCE

Strict classical imitation was not then destined to lead Spain to her *Siglo de Oro*. How-

<sup>1</sup> Note Sophocles, *Antigone*, by Luigi Alamanni, 1533; Sophocles, *Edipo Re* by Pazzi de' Medici; Euripides, *Ifigenia in Tauride* and *Ciclope*, by Pazzi de' Medici, 1524, 1525. Lodovico Dolce made adaptations of Euripides in his *Hecuba*, *Giocasta*, *Ifigenia in Aulide* and *Medea*. Ruccellai made a version of Euripides' *Iphigeneia* in his *Oreste*.

ever, experimentation was not limited to this aspect of classical adaptation. Foremost among those who were seeking to perfect the drama was Juan de la Cueva; he brought in notable innovations himself<sup>1</sup> and lent fresh impetus to the spirit of experimentation. The form of the classics, however, did not particularly interest him. His substitution of four for five acts,<sup>2</sup>—a number to be still further reduced as was gradually evolved the form Spanish drama was to settle into,—his introduction of varied metres, his intermingling of the comic and the tragic, his disregard of unities and his lack of choruses, are quite contrary to classic usage. What did deeply impress him was the nature of the situations and episodes of classic drama, especially as Seneca selected and treated

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that Cueva owed to less illustrious predecessors many of the innovations which in him gained establishment. He himself mentions in his *Exemplar Poético*, Juan de Mal Lara:

El maestro Malara fué loado  
porque en alguna cosa alteró el uso  
antiguo con el nuestro conformado.

En el teatro mil Tragedias puso  
con que dió nueva luz a la rudeza  
de ella apartando el término confuso.

Aplica al verso trágico la alteza  
épica, y dale lírica dulzura  
con efectos suaves sin dureza.

Quoted fr. H. J. Chaytor, *Dramatic Theory in Spain*, Cambridge, 1925, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Carvajal in his *Tragedia llamada Josefina* (1523-35), used four acts, but this usage was not adopted generally until Cueva made it popular.

them.<sup>1</sup> Finding parallels in the legends of his own country, he enriched dramatic subject-matter with tales from Spanish tradition as well as from ancient history.<sup>2</sup> In all these tales he sought what was most abnormal, most shocking to the emotions. Hideous crimes crowd his stage: a brother leads his army against a sister and a traitor betrays his king;<sup>3</sup> youths are killed and their heads served up at table to a horrified father<sup>4</sup> whose youngest son in revenge slays the uncle and burns the aunt who perpetrated the ghastly scheme;<sup>5</sup> a

<sup>1</sup> Seneca's subjects are those of the Greeks. Only *Thyestes* (with, of course, *Octavia*) stands unparalleled in extant Greek drama. *Hercules Furens*, *Troades*, *Medea*, *Hippolytus* are based on Euripides; *Oedipus* and *Hercules Oetaeus* on Sophocles; *Agamemnon* on Aeschylus; *Phoenissae* in parts suggests plays of all three. (See *Comparative Analyses* by F. J. Miller in his edition of *Seneca's Tragedies*, New York and London, 1927.) It is noteworthy that Seneca selected the most sensational. (See J. W. Cunliffe, *Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, London, 1893.) One observes also that in his hands characters grow more malevolent. (See J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, New York, 1927.)

Since Seneca's 16th century imitators accepted all ten tragedies as his and followed them indiscriminately, the questioned authenticity of some of the plays cited in discussion does not concern us here.

<sup>2</sup> Juan Pastor, *Farsa o tragedia de la castidad de Lucrecia*, and the anonymous *Tragedia de los amores de Eneas y de la Reyna Dido*, 1536, are instances of sporadic use of classic material before Cueva.

<sup>3</sup> *Comedia de la muerte del Rey Don Sancho y reto de Camora por Don Diego Ordoñez*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Thyestes*.

<sup>5</sup> *Los siete Infantes de Lara*.

prince offers a resisting victim the life of her brother in exchange for her honor;<sup>1</sup> fathers urge condemnation of their children;<sup>2</sup> a king signs the death warrant of the crown-prince;<sup>3</sup> women murder a prince;<sup>4</sup> a father slays a daughter to save her virtue;<sup>5</sup> a brother kills a sister to gain her throne;<sup>6</sup> women bid farewell to loved ones buried chest-high, knowing that they might save them from this hideous death at the cost of their honor.<sup>4</sup> Tyrants threaten defenceless women.<sup>7</sup> Atrocities too hideous for stage presentation are minutely described in the narrations of messengers<sup>8</sup> and the orders

<sup>1</sup> *Comedia del Degollado.*

<sup>2</sup> *El Infamador.*

<sup>3</sup> *Comedia del Príncipe Tirano.*

<sup>4</sup> *Tragedia del Príncipe Tirano.*

<sup>5</sup> *Tragedia de Virginia y Appio Claudio.*

<sup>6</sup> *Comedia del Príncipe Tirano.*

<sup>7</sup> *Tragedia de Virginia y Appio Claudio* and *Tragedia del Príncipe Tirano.*

<sup>8</sup> *Saco de Roma; Libertad de Roma; cf. letter in Los siete Infantes de Lara. Cf.*

Messenger's report of the self-blinding of Oedipus:

gemuit et dirum fremens  
manus in ora torsit. at contra truces  
oculi steterunt et suam intenti manum  
ultra insecuntur, vulnere occurrunt suo.  
scrutatur avidus manibus uncis lumina,  
radice ab ima funditus vulsos simul  
evoluit orbes . . . etc.

*Oedipus, 961-967.*

Messenger's report of the killing of Thyestes' sons:

colla percussa amputat;  
cervice caesa truncus in pronum ruit,  
querulum cucurrit murmure incerto caput.

*Thyestes, 727-729.*

of tyrants.<sup>1</sup> The supernatural plays a conspicuous part. Ghosts are called up to disclose the secrets of murders;<sup>2</sup> dreams give disturbing warnings.<sup>3</sup> Gods intervene in the affairs of men;<sup>4</sup> the *deus ex machina* protects its favorites.<sup>5</sup> Seneca inspired in Cueva simply a taste for violence.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *Tragedia del Príncipe Tirano* an ambassador is condemned to have ears, nose and hands cut off, a page to have his eyes burned out, rebelling nobles to be thrown over a precipice, two quarrelling friends to duel to the death. In *Comedia de la libertad de España* the husband of an Infanta is to be blinded before beginning his life sentence in prison.

<sup>2</sup> *Comedia del Príncipe Tirano*; *Comedia de la constancia de Arcelina*. Cf. the calling up of the ghost of Laïs in *Oedipus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tragedia de Virginia y Appio Claudio*; *Comedia del saco de Roma*.

<sup>4</sup> The fury Aleto, disguised as *ama* incites the Príncipe Tirano to kill his sister (*Comedia del Príncipe Tirano*); Venus disguised as a maid persuades Eliodora to let in the *alcahuetes* (*idem*); Megara and Tisiphone rouse Porsena to vengeance (*Comedia de la libertad de Roma*). Cf. Juno's plot to madden Hercules (*Her. Fur.*).

<sup>5</sup> Nemesis snatches Eliodora from the Infamador, and Diana guards the door when the messenger comes with the death warrant for her. Cp. the chariot which bore away Medea and the sea monster which frightened the horses of Hippolytus. But the supernatural is carried to lengths in Cueva that have no counterpart in Seneca: poison sent Eliodora by her father turns to flowers just as she is about to drink it (*Infamador*); the Betis refuses to take the body of the Infamador condemned to death in its waters; the corpse of Ajax Telemon turns to a flower.

<sup>6</sup> Senecan moralizing, though less marked than in Cueva's successors, appears now and again, as when the Cid discourses on *codicia* in Act I of the *Comedia de la muerte del Rey don Sancho*. When at the end of Act III of this play each old man complains that heaven has failed the righteous, we recall Seneca's more daring

In the years immediately succeeding the performance of Cueva's plays (1579-1581), Senecan horrors held the stage, evidently enjoying at least a fair popularity.<sup>1</sup> Between 1580 and 1587 appear tragedies whose extravagances bear to Seneca's the relation his own sensational drama bears to the impassioned tragedies of Euripides.<sup>2</sup> All are characterized by plots of Senecan violence. *Marco Antonio y Cleopatra* (1582) by Diego López de Castro includes the maddening of Marcela through the influence of poison given her in a glove,<sup>3</sup> Fulbino's murder of his wife, and four suicides. *La gran comedia de los famosos hechos de Mudarra* (1583 or 1585) has the Senecan aspects of the same story dramatized by Cueva; outcry against divine indifference, Jason's reflection as the chariot bears Medea away:

Per alta vade spatia sublimi aethere;  
testare nullos esse, qua veheris, deos.

*Medea*, 1026-1027.

<sup>1</sup> Note Cervantes' enthusiasm for the plays of Lupercio Argensola, extolled in *Don Quijote*, Parte I, cap. 48: "Decidme: ¿No os acordáis que ha pocos años que se representaron en España tres tragedias que compuso un famoso poeta destos reinos, las cuales fueron tales que admiraron, alegraron y suspendieron a todos cuantos las oyeron—? 'Sin duda—respondió el autor que digo—que debe de decir vuestra merced por *La Isabela*, *La Filis* y *La Alejandra*.' 'Por ésas digo—le repliqué yo—; y mirad si guardan bien los preceptos del arte. . . .'"

<sup>2</sup> See F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan Drama*, Cambridge, 1922.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. maddening of Hercules by poison in the cloak sent him by Deianira (*Her. Oct.*).

*La honra de Dido restaurada* portrays the murder of Siqueo, the appearance of his ghost to disclose the mystery of his death, the kidnapping of the Cyprian maidens, and the intervention of the gods Neptune, Mercury and Venus; the *Tragedia de la destruycion de Constantinople*<sup>1</sup> has the prophetic dream of Constantine, Mohamet's orders for universal massacre, plunder of the dead by the Turks, description of atrocities and the death of a martyr. In *La Isabela* and *La Alejandra* of Lupericio Leonardo Argensola there are ghosts, dreams, visions, auguries; murders, suicides and martyrdoms abound; messengers report blood-curdling horrors with a faithfulness that leaves no detail unrecorded.

Unrelieved tragedy and violent blood-shed place Cervantes' plays in this group. In his *Numancia* occur Senecan auguries and a resurrection; patriotism has the stoic character of the *Troades*—rather than surrender women plead for death, and a young boy, echoing the fine defiant gesture of Astyanax, hurls himself from a lofty tower; a city suffers the torments of famine. In *El Trato de Argel* Sebastián, after the manner of a Senecan messenger, relates the torture and hideous death of a Christian priest in the hands of Moors. One notes in Cervantes greater restraint than in his fellow

<sup>1</sup> Also by Gabriel Laso de la Vega and printed with *La honra de Dido restaurada* in his *Romancero y Tragedias*, 1587.

dramatists of the eighties, but on the other hand less idea of plot—both tragedies present a series of dramatic episodes built around a single theme rather than a well-constructed plot of incidents rising to a climax. But Cervantes caught from Seneca something of the spirit that the others missed. Not only terror but pity moves him who witnesses the mother who must endure, empty-handed, her children's cries for food, or hears Sebastian's report of the martyred priest:

A ningún lado mirava  
que descubra un solo amigo:  
que todo el pueblo enemigo  
en torno le rodeava.

Moreover in contrast to the superimposed sentimentiousness usually found in the tragedies of the Senecan school, the Christian integrity and faith in the face of temptation and discouragement throughout the *Trato* and the heroic patriotism of the *Numancia*, are integral parts of the play itself.

This group<sup>1</sup> that so eagerly accepted from

<sup>1</sup>Andrés Rey de Artieda, famed for his tragedy *Los amantes*, belongs to this period and is often included in this group. Schack writes of his *Amantes*: "Toda la estructura de esta pieza descubre claramente la escuela de La Cueva, aunque haya en ella más tendencia a la regularidad, y una forma trágica más pura. . . . Merece especial alabanza la sobriedad y moderación del autor, en nada semejante a la exageración y grosero colorido que empezaba ya a dominar en el teatro. . . . Se opuso al drama nacional, y

Cueva the legacy of Senecan content, pushed further the imitation. They represent the erudite movement to reclaim a drama as yet vulgar and "without the law" by introducing into it some of the refinements of classic restraint. Observe that their productions were limited to tragedy; humor was strictly taboo; heroes were in general drawn from royalty and a semblance of history lent dignity and authority. Though there was little general philosophy underlying their works, there was a very conspicuous superstructure of moral admonition;<sup>1</sup> the aim to edify was never lost from view. However, these writers dispensed with choruses and, except Argensola, cast unities to the winds.

It is in this group of reformers that Virués belongs. His *Elisa Dido*, written according to strictly classical principles, has already been discussed. One is interested in the attitude he

defendió las reglas clásicas."—*Hist.*, ed. de 1885, vol. I, p. 449. On the other hand Crawford writes: "A desire to protect Spanish tragedy from the restrictions imposed by classical tradition is apparent in the tragedy of *Los amantes*. . . . While aware of the beauties of the classical drama, he does not resign himself to follow blindly its traditions. . . . I find little evidence of acquaintance with the plays of Cueva."—*Drama*, p. 164-5.

<sup>1</sup> Of Seneca himself J. W. Duff in his *Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, New York, 1927, says, "There is no longer felt like a pervasive force the old Aeschylean preoccupation with the fundamental themes of life and destiny." F. L. Lucas in his *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1922, says that in the tragedies of Seneca there are many philosophical tags but little philosophy in the real sense of the word.

takes to the craftsmanship of his other tragedies. In his preface *Al discreto Lector* he explains how the first four tragedies were written “auiendo procurado juntar en ellas lo mejor del arte antiguo i de la moderna costumbre”, a principle he repeats in the prologue to *La cruel Casandra*:

siguiendo en esto la mayor fineza  
del arte antigo i del moderno uso.<sup>1</sup>

Virués' modifications of the classic usage consisted in abolishing the chorus, the conventional character groups, and except for the fictions employed by Semíramis, the supernatural. These elements of classic drama, each reflecting an aspect of ancient life no longer present in the 16th century, were dropped apparently in the interest of realism. The five acts, already cut down to four, Virués further reduced to three, doubtless because the slower movement of the ancient drama was unsuited to the more impatient temperament of moderns. The unities, as principles of art and hence timeless, he retained. Nevertheless, finding in the Semíramis legend material for a

<sup>1</sup> In this attempt at compromise Virués had the precedent of Palmyreno who in the Latin plays given in the *Studi General* in Valencia used the conventional incidents of the comedy of intrigue, allowed a fair sprinkling of Castilian and admitted that for the sake of pleasing his audience he imitated the Spanish farces rather than the serious art of Terence. Another schoolman, Mal Lara, in his tragedies frankly “alteró el uso antiguo con el nuestro conformando”—Cueva, *Ejemplar Poético*.

tragedy and unwilling to sacrifice its dramatic force by mere relation (as in *Elisa Dido*), he ingeniously devised a method of getting around the difficulty while preserving the semblance of orthodoxy. In the prologue to *La gran Semíramis* we are gravely informed:

esta tragedia con estilo nuevo  
que ella introduce, viene in tres jornadas  
que suceden en tiempos diferentes,  
en el sitio de Batra la primera,  
en Ninive famosa la segunda,  
la tercera i final en Babilonia,  
formando en *cada cual una tragedia*,<sup>1</sup>  
con que podrá toda la de oi tenerse  
por *tres tragedias* no sin arte escritas;  
ni es menor novedad que la que dixe  
de ser primera en ser de tres jornadas.<sup>2</sup>

Blank verse he replaced with the varied metre adopted by Cueva.

<sup>1</sup> Crawford notes in *Los amantes* of Rey de Artieda the treatment of each act as a separate entity, and considers this a "fault shared with nearly all his contemporaries."—*Drama*, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> It has been held that his claim to the innovation of reducing four to three acts was unfounded since Francisco de Avendaño had used three acts in the *Comedia Florisea* as early as 1551. It would be no less absurd to deny to Cueva credit for giving the impulse to the use of Greek and Roman legend because there were a few isolated instances of its use years before he established its vogue. Virués' contemporaries clearly accepted as his contribution to the New Drama that particular modification in form:

El Capitan Virues, insigne ingenio,  
puso en tres actos la Comedia que antes  
andaba en quatro pies de niño,  
que eran entonces niños las comedias.

Lope de Vega, *Arte Nuevo*.

His material he selected for its Senecan possibilities. Faces familiar in the Roman dramatist confront us in Virués. Nino, Fabio, Atila and Alarico are omnipresent grandsons of Lycus;<sup>1</sup> Medea's daughters have likewise spread out over the whole world of drama,—each play has its Semíramis, its Casandra, its Flaminia or its Felina. As in Seneca,<sup>2</sup> there are but two types of characters—the good and the bad. The bad choose their course with the deliberation of Atreus:

age, anime, fac quod nulla posteritas probet,  
sed nulla taceat.

*Thyestes*, 192–193.

The same acts of violence prevail. The crime of incest has diminished *per capita*,—Semíramis alone represents Phaedra and Oedipus—but it has gained in determined wickedness, for whereas Phaedra shudders at the precipice into which her ill-fated love is pushing her against her better instincts, and Oedipus adjusts his whole life to avoid the disaster for which the Fates destine him, Semíramis approaches the crime with the relish of an already perverted degenerate. Greater *sang froid* characterizes family murder: mother devotion puts up a losing fight with slighted love and wounded pride in a Medea before she can steel herself

<sup>1</sup> *Her. Fur.*

<sup>2</sup> See H. E. Butler, *Post-Augustan Poetry*, Oxford, 1909.

to kill her little ones, but though there is some reflection on the enormity of the crime theoretically considered, not a vestige of filial affection marks Ninias' murder of his mother. It is an infuriated Medea, a slighted princess, that sends fatal gifts to the successful rival for her husband's love; it is a coldly calculating Casandra who schemes for the destruction of a legitimate princess, while Flaminia, likewise would-be usurper, in cold blood also lays similar pit-falls for a queen on her throne. In Senecan drama, for all its horrors, husband and wife never lift a hand against each other; even Medea spares the life of Jason, and Phaedra dies a suicide since Theseus will not kill her. But in the drama of Virués defense of conjugal honor forces the Prince to the murder of the Princess and Atila to the murder of his queen; jealous rage prompts Flaminia to drug Atila, and Formio and Felina to reciprocal poisoning; and Semíramis slays her lord for mere possession of an undivided throne.

Situations scattered through Seneca's ten tragedies crowd Virués' four: vengeance fills the stage with blood,<sup>1</sup> poison plays its hideous part,<sup>2</sup> desperation impels suicides,<sup>3</sup> heroes claim

<sup>1</sup> *La cruel Casandra; Atila furioso; cf. Medea and Thyestes.*

<sup>2</sup> *Atila furioso; cf. Medea.*

<sup>3</sup> Menón and Nino in *La gran Semíramis; cf. Jocasta in Oedipus and Phaedra in Hippolytus.* Note that the desperation in Virués depends upon circumstances from without, while in Seneca it comes from a sense of inescapable evil from within.

descent from gods,<sup>1</sup> miracles change the course of lives,<sup>2</sup> curses bring their doom,<sup>3</sup> madness rages,<sup>4</sup> murderers unwittingly kill their loved ones.<sup>5</sup> Horror piles upon horror and very few of the cast survive the last act. Virués felt that by multiplying catastrophes he was heightening the tragic effect; he failed to appreciate the fact that any overexaggeration appeals directly to the sense of the comical. J. W. Duff remarks that a deeper sense of humor would have made Seneca a better tragic writer; a sense of humour might have saved Virués from making an unconscious caricature of tragedy.

The dialogue is broken by long narrations and moral discourses. Messengers<sup>6</sup> and ty-

<sup>1</sup> Nino in *Semíramis*; cf. *Hercules Furens*.

<sup>2</sup> The chariot bears Medea from impending disaster; the sea monster is the means to Hippolytus' death; Nino's translation, like that of *Semíramis*, is merely a marvel to inspire awe in their people.

<sup>3</sup> Nino's curse brings a well-deserved doom upon *Semíramis*; Oedipus finds his turned upon himself, the unconscious perpetrator of the crime he wished avenged, and Theseus lives to learn the innocence of the son whose death resulted from his cursing.

<sup>4</sup> Juno, the outraged queen of heaven, caused Hercules' madness in *Her. Fur.*, a jealous wife, in *Her. Oet.*; a jealous mistress caused Atila's.

<sup>5</sup> Hercules recovers to a full recognition of the loss of faithful wife and children at his own hand (*Her. Fur.*); Atila realizes only vaguely in his madness the murder of his new bride.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. Ricardo's account of mad Atila's murder of his bride, *At.* III, 59-84.

rants<sup>1</sup> describe with evident relish scenes which the dramatists' sense of propriety excludes from the action. Typical of the long-winded sententious philosophy is the 175-line soliloquy of Zelabo in Act III of *La gran Semíramis*; this touches upon tyranny, liberty, fidelity, hypocrisy, back-biting, adulation, vanity and all the vices of the court, and puzzles the reader not a little, for the tone of the philosopher is quite self-righteous though the evils are just those of which he himself is most guilty. Occasionally Virués attempts epigram, but the sparkling brilliance so characteristic of Seneca is never reached. Sometimes there is a suggestion of Senecan stichomythia,<sup>2</sup> but for the most part Virués' style is too ponderous to give place to repartee.

In trying to catch the manner of Seneca, Virués failed to reproduce his cleverness and exaggerated into glaring monstrosities his weaknesses. Seneca himself has been charged with exaggerating into reprehensible defects<sup>3</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Ex. Atila's orders, *At.* I, 257-288.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. *Nino.* ¡No quiero ya la vida!  
*Sem.* Ni aquí ninguno te la da tampoco.  
*Sem.* II, 668-9.

*Nino.* Que yo me daré muerte con mi mano,  
 si dar no me la quiere este tirano.

*Sem.* Sí quiero darla; i luego,  
 Zopiro, dale el vaso que la tiene.

*Sem.* II, 684-7.

<sup>3</sup> See F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and the Elizabethan Drama*, Cambridge, 1922.

least worthy features of Euripides,—the impassioned pathos and terror in which the latter departs from Sophocles' serener genius. Nevertheless Seneca preserved enough classic grandeur to inspire the beginnings of much of modern European drama.<sup>1</sup> But Virués in his zeal to grasp the tragic manner missed entirely the tragic sense. The soul-rocking impulses that move Seneca's characters have no place in Virués' drama. Selfish interest now in lust of power, now in lust of passion or in vindication of conjugal honor, is the only effective motive in his tragedies. Crimes are crimes of the head not of the heart. No finer inclinations mark the moral fall of the criminal a dramatic reality; consequently his ultimate worldly fall fails to inspire the terror Virués obviously intended.<sup>2</sup> So monstrous is the cold-blooded calculation of the villain, so unnatural his freedom from normal inhibitions, that, far from identifying his with our own possibilities for evil, thereby experiencing a sense of "terror," we are merely relieved to find this inhuman monster at last receiving his just desserts.

<sup>1</sup> Among the notable dramatists whom Senecan influence has affected are Jodelle, Garnier, Monchretien, Hardy, Corneille, Racine, Voltaire, Victor Hugo, Kyd, Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, Webster, Alfieri. See J. W. Cunliffe, *Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, London, 1893, and J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, New York, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> Declarations of moral purpose will be found in most of the prologues and epilogues.

Instead of "purging the emotions," Virués has inspired a gloating sense of vengeance satisfied.

One remarks that these defects are less pronounced in the *Elisa Dido*. Shall we then conclude that it is because it is a closer imitation of classic model and mourn with Cervantes and Moratín that Spain strayed so far from classic precept? Surely not; the greatest weaknesses in *Elisa Dido* are due precisely to the cult of classic rule.<sup>1</sup> Rather the explanation lies in the material itself; *Dido*, like the Senecan dramas produced from the Greek dramatists themselves, is a tale of inherent tragedy, preserved through the ages by the unerring instinct native in all peoples. When Virués sought tragedies in untried fields he failed because he chose material tested merely by an individual and imperfect conception of tragedy.

In this faulty standard of tragic value Virués with others of his group was influenced by the Italian Giambattista Giraldi Cinthio, in whom appears the fusing of two elements—the classic and the romanesque.<sup>2</sup> Until his *Orbecche* (1515)<sup>3</sup> Italian classic tragedy had

<sup>1</sup> See p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> See L. B. Besaucèle, *J. B. Giraldi*, Paris, 1920, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Summary of *Orbecche*: When king Sulmone of Persia wishes to arrange for the marriage of his daughter Orbecche, he learns that she has been secretly married to his ward Oronte to whom she has borne two children. The king pretends to pardon them and bids them prepare for a public wedding. Then he presents to Orbecche the heads and hands of her husband and children. Orbecche kills her father, then herself.

been a purely literary exercise for the delight of the erudite; Giraldi saw a way to get it on the boards.<sup>1</sup> Abandoning the Greek models of Trissino and his school, he discovered in the sensationally portrayed catastrophes of Seneca kinship to the horrors of his own novels, a literary form highly acceptable to contemporary tastes. If imaginations fed upon the stark realities of current court scandal and adventures of Turkish warfare were to be roused to interest in the simulated calamities of drama, they required strong stimulus. They got it when Giraldi put on the stage the crimes and intrigues of court life portrayed in the second novel of his *Hecatommithi*,<sup>2</sup> presented with all the Senecan methods calculated to excite pity and fear. The *Orbecche* was an unqualified success; Giraldi followed it with other similar plays. The sensation these roused attracted scores of imitators, and "classic" drama entered upon a new phase.

For this innovation in material not only provided greater variety of plot, but changed its whole character. It sanctioned the modification of history, and the use of fiction; this in turn permitted an element of suspense due to

<sup>1</sup> See F. Neri, *La Tragedia Italiana del Cinquecento*, Firenze, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> Giraldi has a forerunner in Antonio Cammelli whose *Filostrato e Panfila*, acted in 1499, is a dramatization of the first novel of the fourth day of the *Decamerone*.

interest in the unforeseen impossible in drama on strictly mythological or traditional subjects; it also tended to multiply characters and complicate the action. The classic atmosphere was quite lost; regardless of date or setting, the life depicted was that of sixteenth century Italy, and the contemporary court with its overbearing tyrants and perfidious courtiers replaced the royal personages of classic tragedy.<sup>1</sup> To this modern or popular material Giralaldi applied the methods of Seneca, whom he admired above all the Greeks;<sup>2</sup> that is, he made abundant use of narration,<sup>3</sup> especially narration replete with bloody detail, bombastic declamation and philosophic aphorisms. In fact, he adopted the moral lesson as a definite principle of tragic drama,<sup>4</sup> stressing the punishment of evil in a way calculated to appeal to the popular sense of justice.

<sup>1</sup> See L. Tonelli, *Il Teatro italiano dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, Milano, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> "Seneca si è dato alle tragedie con tanta eccellenza, che quasi in tutte egli avanzò (per quanto a me ne pare) nella prudenza, nella gravità, nel decoro, nella maestà, nelle sentenze tutti i greci, che scrissero mai."—Giralaldi, quoted fr. P. Bilancini, *Giambattista Giralaldi, Aquila*, 1890.

<sup>3</sup> Renaissance dramatists, not realizing that Senecan plays were written for recitation only (see F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1922), exaggerated a feature which Seneca himself might have reduced had his plays, like theirs, allowed action.

<sup>4</sup> See P. Bilanci, *Giambattista Giralaldi*, Aquila, 1890, p. 35.

As a result of the application of Senecan treatment to romanesque matter Giraldi made two distinct contributions to drama—sentimentalism and realism,<sup>1</sup> ingredients for romantic drama.<sup>2</sup> When Virués in common with Cueva and all his school chooses any tale replete with criminal violence, provided only it feature personages of high estate,<sup>3</sup> and treats it as though drawn from contemporary life, and drives home morals pointed at existing abuses, he is simply adopting the modifications of classic drama introduced by Giraldi.

The innovations in form characteristic of Giraldi and his school<sup>4</sup> are most evident in Virués and Argensola. Giraldi's use of a prologue separate from the action to defend literary theories was adopted by both. The recital of this prologue by *Tragedia* was followed by Argensola in his *Alejandra* and probably suggested *Tragedia's* recitation of the epilogue in Virués. The recital of the prologue by shades in Angelico Leonico's *Canace* and Daniele Barbaro's *Soldato* may be responsible

<sup>1</sup> Tonelli.

<sup>2</sup> Bilanci.

<sup>3</sup> Yet not invariably of high estate. Oronte in *Orbecche* is a lowly born knight, risen from the ranks, a new figure in Italian tragedy, as Neri observes. Compare the minor characters in Virués' *La infelice Marcela*.

<sup>4</sup> Among the Italian followers of Giraldi may be mentioned Sperone Speroni, Angelico Leonico, Muzio Manfredi, Daniele Barbaro, Ludovico Dolce.

for the recitation of the epilogue by the heroine's ghost in Argensola's *Isabela*. In retaining the unities Virués and Argensola apparently followed Giraldi's procedure in the *Orbecche*; Virués in his modification of the unities in *Semíramis*, and the rest of the Senecan school in disregarding them altogether, found precedent in Giraldi's other plays, where he sometimes leaves their observance uncertain, sometimes frankly abandons them.<sup>1</sup>

Clearly the Spanish Senecan school owed much of its non-classical character to the Italian Senecan school, and it is even conceivable that it gathered most of its Senecan qualities from the same source. That does not, however, preclude the probability of first-hand acquaintance with Seneca.<sup>2</sup> It is hardly likely that such a writer for example as Virués, who obviously studied Latin sources for the plots of his plays, would neglect to examine the tragedies Giraldi openly claimed as his inspiration, especially as they were easily accessible in translation.<sup>3</sup> Nor is it surprising that

<sup>1</sup> Neri.

<sup>2</sup> Among the features in Spanish drama that clearly indicate that Spanish dramatists had not broken entirely with the original source of inspiration is the motif of madness in Virués' *Atila furioso* and in López de Castro's *Marco Antonio y Cleopatra*, a madness induced through the evil wiles of personal enemies as in *Her. Fur.* and *Her. Oet.*

<sup>3</sup> Translations of Seneca into Spanish had existed since the beginning of the 15th century. See J. P. W. Crawford, *Influence*

the Spaniards having before them both master and disciple followed the disciple, for they realized that he had already opened the way of appeal to their own generation.

As we have seen above, the contemporary who most resembles Virués in Giraladian forms is Argensola.<sup>1</sup> He is like him, too, in Giraladian titles conspicuously short among the long ones of contemporary Spanish dramatists.<sup>2</sup> There is likewise a striking similarity in the content of their plays—always studies of women. The situation in *La Alejandra* is the usual one in Virués—court intrigue, with courtiers conspiring against those in power and against each other in unbridled ambition to rise. Remulus and Ostilo are villains of the calibre of Casandra and Fabio, ready to deceive a vain king with flattery and bringing about the ruin of his favorite, Lupercio, by playing upon the king's readily fanned jealousy of his queen Alejandra.<sup>3</sup> Alejandra is really guilty and, in accordance with Virués' favorite device of *of Seneca*, etc., in *Modern Philology* (XII). Lodovico Dolce published in 1560 an Italian translation of all the tragedies of Seneca.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to speculate upon the possible contacts of Virués and Lupercio Argensola in Italy where the latter was minister in the court of the Viceroy of Naples.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Giraldi, *Orbecche*, *Didone*, *Euphemia*, *Epitia*, etc.; Argensola, *La Isabela*, *La Alejandra*, *La Filis* (lost); Virués, *Elisa Dido*, *La gran Semíramis*, *La cruel Casandra*, *La infelice Marcela*.

<sup>3</sup> Exactly the situation of *La cruel Casandra*.

leaving advances to the ladies and rebuffs to the men,<sup>1</sup> declares her love to him only to find him unmoved in his loyalty to the king. When the king condemns Lupercio to death the queen betrays her guilty love and forfeits her life. Remulus and Ostilo are killed in an uprising they have instigated against the king,<sup>2</sup> whom two other courtiers murder in expectation of winning favor with the pretender Orodonte.<sup>3</sup> But Orodonte, fearing the fickleness of traitors, orders their execution. The victorious Orodonte now woos Silva, daughter of the vanquished king. But she proves faithful to her lover Lupercio and avenges his death by killing Orodonte. She then casts herself from a tower, and the stage is left impressively empty. The cast has been completely exterminated in Virués' best manner!

It would be interesting to know the chronological order of the appearance of the plays of Argensola<sup>4</sup> and Virués, to trace what may well be an interplay of influence. The modification of the original four to three acts indicates that in this, at least, Argensola followed Virués. He

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Semíramis and Ninias, Atila's queen and Flaminia disguised as page, Delbora and Carquedonio, Ismeria and Seleuco.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Carquedonio and Seleuco.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zopiro and Zelabo.

<sup>4</sup> First published at Saragossa, 1634. Probably written for presentation between 1581 and 1585. See Crawford, *Drama before Lope*, pp. 170-171.

may have followed him earlier in matters of content. Though Giraldi undoubtedly furnished the suggestion for plays reflecting modern court life, here a somewhat new turn is given the subject by stressing intrigue motivated chiefly by greed for power. It seems fairly safe to assume that it was Virués who initiated this in Spain. It is a theme that occupied him always—it is found in each of his five plays and among his lyrics,<sup>1</sup> and is apparently drawn from the bitterness of his personal observations. Certainly he wished to give the impression of an eye-witness in the epilogue to *La cruel Casandra*. Argensola, on the other hand uses the theme but once. That the dominant note of a contemporary impresses a dramatist and comes to flower in a single composition is more probable than that a single play of a contemporary so influences a dramatist that he follows its theme forever after! Argensola's greater skill in handling the many characters and the complicated plot which these two developed to a high state of intricacy, likewise inclines one to infer that he may have had time to profit by Virués' awkwardness. One suspects a respectful reference to Virués in the prologue to *Isabela*:

*Fama.* Yo con eternas letras registrados  
Tengo los famosísimos varones  
Que tras de la virtud se remontaron,  
Unos por armas y otros por las letras,

<sup>1</sup>Fol. 224, p. 1.

Y los que por entrambas estas cosas.  
Ni vosotras, mujeres, perseguidas  
De serpentinas lenguas os quedasteis  
(En colosos eternos levantadas)  
Sin vuestras merecidas alabanzas;  
Y, malgrado del gran Marón, tú, Dido  
Entre las viudas castas te colocas.<sup>1</sup>

In some respects Virués and Argenso'a are the best representatives of the Senecan school in Spain because in them the tendencies it bred are seriously carried out to their logical conclusions. It is not hard to understand why the type of play they produced did not survive. Spanish humor is too all-pervasive to endorse unrelieved tragedy; Spanish genius too richly creative, too enterprising, too proud, to bend long to imitation of another's glory. Spanish character asserted itself: the ancients had, first of all, been themselves; Spaniards, too, would be themselves and seek a new path to glory.

#### VIRUÉS' PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF SPANISH DRAMA

We have now examined those aspects of Virués' work which may be considered the product of his environment. We have seen him begin by very strict imitation, and have watched how, as though swept by the tide of the

<sup>1</sup> These lines might apply to Gabriel Lobo Laso de la Vega, who in his *Honra de Dido restaurada* claims this aim, but he appears not to have been a soldier, though he served in the interior guard of the royal palace.

times, he made increasing concessions, now in form, now in spirit. His cast resembles less and less that of the ancients: no nurse stands at the elbow of *Semíramis*, *Casandra*, *Flaminia* or *Marcela*; in the play portraying the latter, figures of the lower classes vie with royalty for the center of the stage. Tradition loses ground: *Semíramis*, to be sure, is no less well documented than *Dido*, but *Atila* is an irresponsible mixture of authentic history, variation and addition; *Casandra* and *Marcela* lay claim to courts that figure in history, but represent no delving into their chronicles. Tragedy persists—catastrophes increase in proportion as Virués moves farther from his classic masters. A single death produces the hush of horror in *Dido*; *Semíramis* closes every act with the murder of a principle character; in *Casandra* every personage of importance meets violent death; in *Atila* the same is true and in addition orders have been issued for the brutal execution of scores who never appear upon the stage; *Marcela* spares the hero, but he is with difficulty restrained from suicide! Yet tragedy does not hold undisputed sway; just as we have seen in *Casandra*, *Atila* and *Marcela* the romantic tale pushing out historical tradition, so elements of comedy crowd tragic elements in the two latter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. Bouterwek, *History of Spanish Literature*, London, 1847, p. 313 ff., observes that some of Virués' tragedies might almost be called *comedias*.

It will be seen that I am assuming *Dido* to be the first of Virués' plays and *Marcela* the last.<sup>1</sup> This assumption seems to me borne out by the internal evidence of a surer technique and of a gradual moving away from classical limitations; by the half defiant tone of the *Prólogo* to *Marcela*, the play which concedes most to popular taste while its prologue bears witness to Virués' failure to catch public favor with former plays; and by the fact that he dropped playwriting altogether to turn to a new field of classic endeavor—the epic, as though the concessions of *Marcela* had failed to win him popularity with the crowd and had lost him the support of the intellectuals who had applauded *Dido*.

It still remains to examine what is individual in Virués' drama. One notes first the themes that occupy him; they are two—one the dominating power of love, which when worldly is a destructive force which wrecks men's lives; the other the appalling results of selfish ambition. Both run through all his plays, usually combined in the same individual. That individual is generally a woman, and the scene of her activity a royal court.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Moratín, *Catálogo*, lists the plays: 1579 *Semíramis*, *Casandra*; 1580 *Atila*; 1581 *Marcela*, *Elisa Dido*. He gives no reason for these dates.

<sup>2</sup> Exception: Felina among the robbers, turning from the chief to Alarico.

Outstanding is his selection of women as the protagonists in his plays—four of the five bear women's names, and the fifth would more fittingly be *Flaminia*. These women (excepting Marcela, but including Felina) are clever to the point of astuteness; they all thirst for power and show great executive ability, admirable self-control and love of mystery. Except Dido, they are unscrupulous, motivated by ambition or passion for vengeance; on the contrary, good women, including Dido, find their predominating motive in love, and, except Dido, are correspondingly colorless.<sup>1</sup> All, good and bad alike, take the initiative in courtship, whether in the subtle manner of Semíramis, the gentle leading of Ismeria, or the open wooing with which Atila's queen pursues Flaminio. Virués' skill in portraying women's management of men is best seen in *La gran Semíramis*. Observing Menón's pride in her stratagem at Bactra, but knowing well how trying to men is too great cleverness in women, Semíramis assumes becoming humility murmuring,

Tengo vuestra alma en mí, i por esso acierto!

I, 136.

By accusing Nino of a plan to make her his mistress, she provokes denial and a proposal of

<sup>1</sup> Particularly true of Fulgencia and Marcela. For criticism of Marcela, see Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique*, p. 349.

marriage. Far too wise to accept this, she uses tactics of resistance, giving Nino an impression of *castidad* which he can enjoy to his heart's content, though with no intention of respecting it. Semíramis gains her point and Nino carries away the impression that he has been very masterful. Similar is the ruse by which Casandra rouses the curiosity of the Príncipe by professing reluctance to tell her story.

Unfortunately, as often happens, the choice of strong heroines crippled the dramatist in the portrayal of manly heroes. Nino may himself retain the illusion of being a king whose "voluntad es lei," but the public knows him to be the dupe of Semíramis; the Príncipe may feel that he has vindicated his honor in a dignified way, the audience knows that he is a puppet on Casandra's stage; Atila's bombast does not save him from Flaminia's more subtle cruelties. When one enumerates the masculine victims of Semíramis, Casandra and Flaminia, and ponders the situations, one cannot help question Virués' wisdom in picturing men fools in order to prove women clever.

In general Virués' characters are types rather than individuals; the fact that he has created very little genuine sympathy for them personally accounts for our indifference as one after the other they strew the stage with

their corpses. Characteristic of his "bad" characters are the abnormal desires that dominate their lives:

*Cas.* ¿De qué sirve que estas cosas hable  
la que ya tan de veras se dispuso  
a ser en esta corte tan famosa  
por ser cruel, como por ser hermosa?

*Cas. II, 191-194.*

*Atila.* Aborrézcame el mundo, i aborrezcan  
mi nombre i mi presencia mis vassallos,  
i sea aborrecible a cielo i tierra,  
como me tema el mundo i como teman  
mi saña i mis castigos mis vassallos;  
que es cosa de mugeres ser amables  
i de varones ser temidos.

*At. I, 309-315.*

On the modern stage these would be treated as pathological manifestations and would rouse interest from the point of view of psychology; in Virués they are presented as the normal cravings of the depraved but perfectly sane, and imply a lack of understanding of both human nature and the technique of tragedy.<sup>1</sup> However, passages here and there show an insight that delights us. The mother cannot conceive that the criminal before her is the tender thing she herself brought into the world:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* the horror of Macbeth before the murder and that of Lady Macbeth afterwards. The misgivings of Casandra concerning Filadelfo (*Cas. II, 185-194; 291-298*) and those of Fabio concerning the queen (*Cas. III, 32-46*) indicate in Virués a glimmering of appreciation of this.

*Sem.* No naciste  
 tú de mí, fiera horrible;  
 que es imposible, pues que tal hiziste.  
 Cruel, fiero, inumano,  
 ¿yo te traxe en mi vientre?  
 ¿yo en mis tiernas entrañas te e engendrado?  
 No, no, en el suelo Vrcano  
 o en Egipcio entre  
 las fieras más crueles te as criado;  
 dellas alimentado,  
 dellas nacido i engendrado as sido.  
 Las amas te trocaron,  
 i al que parí mataron;  
 que no es possible ser de mí nacido  
 un monstro tan disforme.

*Sem.* III, 502-516.

New characters stand unconsciously revealed  
 by their first utterances:

*Sem.* Amado esposo, alegre i dulce puerto  
 de mis desseos, si llegara aora  
 a ser universal reina del mundo,  
 al bien de veros fuera bien segundo.

*Sem.* I, 21-24.

In *Casandra* III, 242-260 we have a realistic picture of the stunning effect of bad news on a well-controlled individual, in the contradictory orders as she struggles to adjust herself to the new situation, and in the clearness of the final plan suddenly conceived under stress of the emotion of injury clamoring for vengeance.

There is much that is awkward in Virués' technique. He seems to have difficulty in

getting his characters off stage and resorts again and again to the same somewhat crude method of ordering them off:<sup>1</sup>

*Dido.* Salíos vosotros fuera de las puertas;  
tú, Ismeria, queda sola aquí conmigo.

*Dido* III, 54-55.

*Atila.* Idos todos de aquí. Flaminio, mira—  
Tú sola te queda aquí.

*At.* II, 304-305.

Another method, also repeated, is the actor's excuse for getting himself off:<sup>2</sup>

*Seleuco.* Gente aquí sale. Voime do no la aya;  
que no sufre mi pena compañía.

*Dido* I, 226-227.

Virués shows, however, increasing facility in handling exits, and in *Marcela* the characters move about carried by the action itself, without any apparent devices on the part of the dramatist.

Repetition is a common weakness of Virués; remarkable as is reciprocal murder, it occurs in his dramas no less than three times, twice in the same play. The similarity of Casandra's plot against the Princess and Filadelfo, and Flaminia's against the Queen and Gerardo, has already been noted, as has Casandra's use of the same scheme to trap Filadelfo and her brother Fabio. Ismeria and Delbora in the

<sup>1</sup> For similar passages see *Dido* I, 172-175, 359-361; *At.* I, 305, II, 503; *Sem.* I, 261-263, II, 134-136.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Seleuco's speech in *Dido* II, 224-226.

same act go through almost identical scenes with Seleuco and Carquedonio. In the same act Formio and Felina each learn through eavesdropping the infidelity of the other, and eavesdropping furnishes Flaminia knowledge of Atila's new love. The revealing of the concealed corpses at the close of *Cassandra* recalls the final scene of *Dido*; Landino's discovery of the dead Marcela echoes Iarbas' experience.

There are many touches of realism in Virués,<sup>1</sup> but beside them must be put such absurdities as the overhearing of a soliloquy, generally conceived as a convention to acquaint the public with the individual's thoughts, and the description by an unsympathetic witness of sensations perceptible only to the subject:

*Zelabo (speaking of Nino).*

Calló pasmado, atónito i temblando,  
cubierto todo de un *sudor elado*.

*Sem. II, 237-8.*

The use of the temple for lovers' colloquies and women's gossip contrasts strangely with Abenamida's respect:

<sup>1</sup> " . . . elles sont semées des traits empruntés à l'observation quotidienne . . . il visait plutôt . . . à approprier le langage des personnages à leur condition sociale: les soldats qui dans *Semiramis* donnet l'assaut à Bactres s'expriment avec un vulgarité qui n'est pas exempte de recherches, et dans *Marcela* les brigands conversent entre eux d'un ton qui deux siècles plus tard, scandalisait Moratín." —Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique*, pp. 352-353.

Esto de Iarbas solamente aora  
con esta brevedad puedo deziros,  
por la ocasión del templo adonde estamos.

*Dido* III, 12-15.

*Dido* is remarkable for its scarcity of action; almost everything that occurs is related. *Marcela*, on the other hand, is all action; only the actual storming of the robber-cave is reported. *Semíramis*, *Casandra* and *Atila* show an increasing tendency to present rather than relate episodes essential to the plot, though scenes of actual violence are kept off stage.

Virués' sentence structure is frequently very loose; shifting subjects and unattached participles often make passages difficult to understand. Forced word order<sup>1</sup> suggests experimentation that accomplished little. He delights in repetition,<sup>2</sup> in play on words<sup>3</sup> and in

<sup>1</sup> Ex: bravo un lobo . . . inmenso un globo (*Sem.* III, 299-303); la más rebelde su enemiga (*Cas.* I, 315); no ai tal para calenturas/fría en hondo valle fuente (*Mar.* I, 276-277); que por onrosas empresas/vida es gloriosa la muerte (*Mar.* I, 290-291); falsos del falso Amor dulces desseos (*Dido* V, 119); esta del torpe amor orrenda furia (*Dido* IV, 392).

<sup>2</sup> Ex: Acuérdate de ti, de ti te acuerda (*Mar.* I, 103); Cansada i triste vida,/vida cansada i triste (*Sem.* I, 534-535); pues este amigo me es tan enemigo,/el enemigo mar será mi amigo (*Mar.* I, 151-2); Mira quien te ama i adora;/mira quien te adora i ama (*At.* I, 16-17).

<sup>3</sup> Ex: Ilustre exemplo doi al alma ilustre/con que su lustre, como deve, ilustre (*Sem. Trag.* 7-8); Lengua pensada, leve más que pluma;/lengua leve, pesada más que plomo (*Sem.* III, 379-80); Fulgencia, vuestro término discreto/no guarda aora en vos sola una almena/. . . . Es mi pasión sin término . . . i ella [mi pena] de cualquier término es agena (*Cas.* I, 327-332).

paradox.<sup>1</sup> Much of this was ephemeral in its appeal; nevertheless his verse often has permanent beauty and evokes the admiration of the critics.<sup>2</sup> Flashing forth here and there are lines which arrest the attention and hold the fancy. Many of his figures are charming:

Tus ojos son la luz con que yo veo.  
*Sem. II, 40.*

Un rayo era su cuchillo agudo.  
*At. II, 286.*

Recognizing a kindred spirit one cries:

. . . la misma sangre tienes  
 que yo en las entrañas tengo.  
*Mar. II, 268-269.*

Love dominates the lover:

No puedo sin ti passar,  
 no puedo sin ti bivar;  
 por fuerça te e de buscar,  
 por fuerça te e de seguir,  
 por fuerça te e de alcançar.  
*Sem. III, 210-214.*

When death is imminent one suddenly sees the vanity of life:

<sup>1</sup> Ex: O sangre que derramada/vida me dais (*Mar. I, 272-273*); Vida es gloriosa la muerte (*Mar. I, 291*); Si el fin del gozo la tristeza ocupa,/el fin de la tristeza ocupa el gozo (*Dido V, 164-165*).

<sup>2</sup> See H. Dohm, *Die spanische National-Literatur*, Berlin, 1867; J. J. Bertrand, *L. Tieck et le théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1914; Bouterwek, *Hist. of Sp. Lit.*; A. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, Leipzig, 1890; Ticknor, *Hist. of Sp. Lit.*

Mi bien un breve sueño a sido apena;  
mis años i mis días,  
mis gozos i alegrías  
assí an passado como larga vena  
de agua corriente i biva,  
que el curso abiva en la marina arena.

*Sem. III, 555-560.*

Such is Virués. With all his defects one recognizes in him unquestionable ability.<sup>1</sup> As he himself tells us,<sup>2</sup> his plays were the work of his early manhood. They have the marks of youth—promise, growth in matters of technique, capacity for expansion in concepts of art. Not the product of a matured writer, but that of an apprentice, they are plays that show promise rather than achievement. Unfortunately there were no later plays to fulfil that promise. Discouraged by the reception they received, or perhaps discouraged with himself that he had drifted from his original ideals in play-writing, Virués dropped drama and gave his classic taste expression in the epic which is recognized as one of the best in the language.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps it was well that he did drop drama, for by the time he had written *Marcela*, though he had gained in technique, he was approaching too closely current concepts to make any

<sup>1</sup> Bouterwek finds Virués "born for tragic art," and Schack "de talento no común."

<sup>2</sup> " . . . hechas por entretenimiento, i en juuentud"—fr. *Discreto Lector, Obras*.

<sup>3</sup> See Ticknor, *Hist.*, Boston, 1864, vol. II, p. 475.

startlingly original contributions to its development. The field where he excelled, where he is indeed unique, is in *Elisa Dido*. One might wish that he had been a little less versatile, that he had continued to produce that type of play, concentrating his energies upon developing it, rather than scattering them in the varying adaptations of classic drama represented by the other four plays. Yet it is perhaps a foolish wish. The fact that the public did not accept the *Dido* with the enthusiasm which would have assured it successors, is evidence that the strictly classic play was not to catch the Spanish imagination. And after all, Virués' actual contribution to the drama which did develop came from the other four plays—the use of three acts, and the adaptation of plots from every available source. We may decry lack of unity in the inspiration of Virués, with his classic Dido, his eastern Semíramis, his barbarian Atila, his mediaeval Casandra, and Marcela, a story-book lady stepped out of romance of chivalry. Yet what more characteristic of the drama of the *Siglo de Oro* than just such diversity of interests? Cueva and his followers, Virués among them, opened up mines that were to contribute richly to the mighty drama close upon their heels. Lope de Vega,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Juliá calls attention to the fact that Lope on his arrival in Valencia where he spent a part of his exile, found there a well

who endorsed and employed Virués' three acts, and spoke, as did Cervantes, with appreciation of this innovator already old-fashioned, doubtless learned from him and others of his kind, the fascination complicated plot exerts upon a genius capable of mastering its organization into an artistic whole. Indeed the improviser Lope must have been touched by the lofty aim of these *literati* since, though he discarded their formal rules, drama in him became literature.

The lover of drama may not find much of delight in these tragedies whose horrors tend to provoke mirth rather than awe, but the historian of human endeavor will recognize that the chasm from Cueva to Lope, incomprehensible if taken at a single leap, becomes a possibility when bridged by the erudites whose drama, faulty as it was, gloriously spanned the way to a *Siglo de Oro*.

developed theatre which could hardly fail to make its impress upon his rapidly developing genius: "Llevó a su destierro su genio ya próximo a la madurez. . . . El grupo valenciano no hubiera definido tan radicalmente el último grado de su evolución sin que hubiese llegado a vivir entre ellos el Monstruo de la Naturaleza; pero la contemplación de los hechos sugiere una pregunta; ¿no contribuyó Valencia al rápido éxito de Lope de Vega?" *Poetas dramáticos valencianos*, Madrid, 1929, *Observaciones preliminares*, p. cxxxiv. Virués, whose drama was well known before Lope's first visit, was one who undoubtedly influenced Lope, as Lope himself recognizes and as we judge also from his choice of the Semíramis legend for a play.

## APPENDIX

### I. VIRUÉS' SPELLING

The text of Virués presents a unique appearance, due to his use of a somewhat unusual system of spelling, a system which I am delighted to find Señor Juliá Martínez retaining in his *Poetas dramáticos valencianos*. Eloquent of the author's own firm insistence on its preservation in the edition he himself sponsored, is the protest of the unwilling printer, inserted between the *Prólogo* and *Jornada I* of *Semíramis*:

La ortografia que lleua este libro se puso a persuasion del autor del, y no como en la imprenta se vsa.

The system of spelling which Virués follows in the *Obras* is that found in the *Monserate* and defended in its prologue:

I porque algunos amigos que an visto la ortografia que uso en mi escritura, me obligan a dar alguna razon della, digo, que por parecerme la mas propia, mas facil, de mayor descanso, i demas dulce pronuncion que ser puede a la lengua en que escrivo, la uso assi, siguiendo alos dotos i curiosos modernos, que la an puesto en este punto con maravillosa consideracion i pulicia, a mi parecer: el cual enesto i en todo lo demas sugeto i rindo al mas acertado.

Evidently he was encouraged to maintain the

system he had adopted by such approbation as appears in the letter of Baltasar de Escobar, written from Rome, March 12, 1589, and printed in the *Monserate* of Milan, 1602, and in subsequent editions:

Querria hablar aqui tambien un poco de la ortografia, loando el parecer de V. M. en avella seguido  
 . . . .

The reforms espoused by Virués are largely those recommended by Fernando Herrera in his edition of the works of Garcilaso de la Vega<sup>1</sup> and employed by him in this and in later publications.<sup>2</sup> Prominent among the changes advocated is the suppression of consonants which had historical but no longer vocal position in words, as in *sujeto*, *aceté*, *efeto*, *aflicción*, *dinas*, *onipotente*, *laciva*, *continás*, *antigo*, *ecelso*. Letters representing current pronunciation were substituted for those which did not represent it, as in *estremo*, *cuando*, *enprender*. In his attempt to conform to this principle of strict phonetic spelling, Virués replaced *g* before *u* when silent, by *h*, as in *verhuença*, *ahuero*, *ahuelos*. In accordance with the reforms of Herrera, initial *h*, unless replacing Latin *f*, was dropped, hence *ombres*, *oi*, *istoria*. Virués carries this principle still further,

<sup>1</sup> *Obras* de Garci Lasso de la Vega con anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera, Sevilla, 1580.

<sup>2</sup> For thorough discussion of Herrera's spelling reforms, see A. Coster, *Fernando de Herrera*, Paris, 1908, ch. XX.

dropping *h* not derived from Latin *f*, even when occurring within the word, as *almoadas*. Virués differs from Herrera in the use of *-zco*, *-zca* (not softened to *-sco*, *-sca*), and in the form *propio* (not *proprio*), and in observing the usual convention of dotting *i* and *j*, though he conforms to Herrera's use of the letter *i* when the vowel is intended, as in the conjunction *i* and the words *mui*, *ai*, *rei*, etc. Virués follows Herrera also in the assimilation of the two liquids when a pronoun beginning in *l* is preceded by an infinitive, as in *avisallos*, *usualla*, etc. Though Virués does not, like Herrera, employ the apostrophe to denote the elision of a vowel in pronunciation, he sometimes omits such a vowel, as in *lalma*, *assegurándos*, *sobré*, *antellos*. He makes no use of the symbols with which Herrera denotes diaeresis and syneresis, but he frequently uses the grave accent over one syllable forms of the verb *aver*, as *è*, *à*, the present tense of *estar*, as *està*, and the first and third singular preterite of the first conjugation.

## II. VERSIFICATION

The metrical schemes of four of Virués' plays are found in H. Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, ch. VI. *Elisa Dido*, the fifth, is written in hendecasyllabic blank verse, with the exception of the choruses, and a lament in the last act. These are as follows:

- Act I. 441-490, silva (abC abC dD) terminating in couplets.
- Act II. 551-592, silva (aBaBcDcDeE) terminating in couplets.
- Act III. 399-443, silva (abCabC cDeeDfF; AbbAcc).
- Act IV. 351-392, silva (abCabCabCC) terminating in couplets.
- Act V. 339-375, (lament), heptasyllabic blank verse.  
417-433, silva (abCabCcDdEeFgg-FhH).

### III. BIBLIOGRAPHY

#### I. EDITIONS

*Obras tragicas y liricas*, Madrid, 1609. (*Editio princeps*. May be examined in the Rennert Collection of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, in the Ticknor Collection of the Public Library of Boston, and in the Library of the Hispanic Society, New York.)

*La gran Semíramis*, London-Edinburgh-Leipzig, 1858.

*Poetas dramáticos valencianos*, ed. by Eduardo Juliá Martínez Madrid, 1929. (Contains *Elisa Dido*, *La gran Semíramis*, *La cruel Casandra*, *Atila furioso*, *La infelice Marcela*.)

*El Monserrate*, Madrid, 1587-88.

*El Monserrate Segundo*, Milán, 1602.

*El Monserrate, tercera impresión*, Madrid, 1609.

*El Monserrate, cuarta impresión*, ed. by A. Bonacassa, Madrid, 1805.

*Poesías selectas castellanas*, ed. by M. J. Quintana, 1833. (Parte II contains selections of *El Monserrate*.)

*El Monserrate*, ed. by C. Rosell in *B. A. E.*, vol. XVII, Madrid, 1849.

*El Monserrate Segundo, edición económica*, Barcelona, 1884.

## 2. STUDIES

Antonio, Nicolás: *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, vol. I, Madrid, 1783.

Barrera y Leirado, Cayetano A. de: *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español*, Madrid, 1860.

Bonacassa, Agustín: *Discurso preliminar a El Monserrate, cuarta impresión*, Madrid, 1805.

Bouterwek, Frederick: *History of Spanish and Portuguese Literature*, transl. by T. Ross, London, 1823, vol. I, pp. 442-446.

Cejador y Frauca, Julio: *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*, vol. III, Madrid, 1915, pp. 277-279.

Clarke, Butler: *Spanish Literature*, London, 1909, pp. 225-226.

Crawford, J. P. W.: *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, Philadelphia, 1922, pp. 176-179.

Dohm, H.: *Die spanische National-Literatur*, Berlin, 1876, pp. 233-237.

Fernández-Espino, José: *Curso histórico-crítico de la literatura española*, Sevilla, 1871, pp. 533-536.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James: *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1926, pp. 178, 186, 197.

Hurtado y Jiménez de la Serna, Juan and González Palencia, Ángel: *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1922, pp. 317, 394.

Juliá Martínez, Eduardo: *Observaciones preliminares in Poetas dramáticos valencianos*, Madrid, 1929, pp. xlv-lvi.

Klein, J. L.: *Geschichte des spanischen Dramas*, Band II, Leipzig, 1875, vol. IX, pp. 220-242.

Martínez de la Rosa, Francisco: *Poética: Apéndice sobre la tragedia española*, in *Obras completas*, vol. I, Paris, 1845, pp. 60-66.

Mérimée, Henri: *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, Toulouse, 1913, ch. VI.

Montiano y Luyando, Agustín de: *Discurso sobre las tragedias españolas*, Madrid, 1750, pp. 27-45.

Moratin, Leandro Fernández de: *Catálogo histórico y crítico de piezas dramáticas anteriores a Lope de Vega*, in *B. A. E.*, vol. II, Madrid, 1846.

Münch, E. Freiherr von: *Virués' Leben und Werke in Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, Zweiter Band, Berlin, 1860, pp. 139-163.

Pastor Fuster, Justo: *Biblioteca valenciana*, Tomo I, Valencia, 1827, p. 205.

Rosell, Cayetano: *Prólogo to Historia del Monserrate*, in *B. A. E.*, vol. XVII, Madrid, 1849.

Schack, Adolfo: *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático de España*, transl. by Eduardo de Mier, Madrid, 1885-87, vol. I, pp. 450-457.

Schaeffer, Adolph: *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, Leipzig, 1890, vol. I, pp. 67-70.

Ticknor, George: *History of Spanish Literature*, New York, 1854, vol. II, pp. 28-30, 167, 470-472; vol. III, pp. 4, 23.

Velázquez, Luis Joseph: *Orígenes de la poesía castellana*, Málaga, 1797, pp. 99, 106-107.

Wolf, Ferdinand: *Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen Nationalliteratur*, Berlin, 1859, pp. 615-617.

Ximeno, Vicente: *Escritores del reyno de Valencia*, vols. I-II, Valencia, 1747.



**PUBLICATIONS**  
of the  
**INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS**





INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION  
**INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS**  
EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS  
SPANISH INSTITUTE IN THE UNITED STATES

*"I congratulate all of you who are participating in the work of the Instituto de las Españas. The method adopted to increase our understanding of the Spanish language, the Spanish literature and the powerful contribution which the Spanish people have made to civilization, both medieval and modern, is a wise and effective one. It will give me pleasure to support the work of the Instituto in all practical ways."*

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER  
President, Columbia University

*"El Instituto de las Españas está realizando en los Estados Unidos una labor espiritual del más alto valor, ya que, no sólo trabaja en pro de la cultura, sino también en favor de la aproximación y conocimiento mutuo de los pueblos de habla española, portuguesa e inglesa."*

*"Me complace, pues, en alentar con el mayor entusiasmo esa obra patriótica, altruista y de tan elevada idealidad."*

RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL  
Presidente de la Real Academia Española

The Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos was founded in 1920 by the Institute of International Education, the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, and several Spanish and American universities, to be a center for the study of Hispanic culture, to promote interest in the Spanish and Portuguese civilizations and to foster cultural relations between the United States and all Hispanic nations.

## General Executive Council

**Stephen P. Duggan**, Institute of International Education, Chairman.

**José Camprubí**, Director de "La Prensa."

**Emilio Zapico**, Cónsul General de España.

**H. C. Heaton**, New York University.

**Samuel Guy Inman**, Committee on Cooperation in Latin America.

**Eduardo López**, Cámara de Comercio Española de Nueva York.

**S. E. L. Maduro**, Compañía Trasatlántica Española.

**John Bassett Moore**, Columbia University.

**Federico de Onís**, Junta para Ampliación de Estudios.

**William R. Shepherd**, Columbia University.

**Susan Huntington Vernon**, International Institute for Girls in Spain.

**Lawrence A. Wilkins**, American Association of Teachers of Spanish.

---

**Elena de Zárraga**, Executive Secretary

**Louis Imbert**, Treasurer

**Rafael A. Becerra**, Vice-President, New York Branch

## Some of the aims of the Instituto

To maintain a bureau of information concerning educational opportunities in Spain, Spanish America and the United States.

To encourage an interchange of professors and students between the institutions of these countries.

To encourage the study of Spanish and Portuguese in the schools and colleges of the United States.

To receive and entertain distinguished Hispanic visitors.

To arrange lectures by eminent Hispanists from abroad and by those of our own country.

To conduct student tours to Spain which afford opportunity for study and travel under the most capable direction.

To hold literary and musical "veladas" which will afford an opportunity for meeting and conversing with people of Spanish speech.

To organize an affiliation of Spanish Clubs in schools and colleges.

To establish a select library of Spanish and Portuguese books.

To publish books, articles, etc., on subjects connected with the purposes of the Instituto.

To celebrate on the 23rd of April each year the "Fiesta de la Lengua Española," and to award the medal of the Instituto for excellence in Spanish.

*These aims which are at present being realized can be accomplished more fully by your hearty cooperation. Every person interested in any phase of Spanish and Portuguese culture is cordially invited to join the Instituto.*

## Affiliation of Clubs

The Instituto has organized an affiliation of Spanish clubs in schools and colleges. By payment of the annual affiliation fee of \$5.00 these clubs are given the following advantages:

1. A handsome bronze medal of the Dama de Elche is sent each club to be awarded on Cervantes Day, April 23, for excellence in Spanish. Clubs wishing to award a medal each semester may secure an additional one on payment of \$3.00.

2. Each club will receive five copies of **Suggestions for Spanish Clubs**.

3. Each club will receive twenty-five copies of the Instituto's **Cartilla Escolar Cervantes**.

4. Affiliated clubs will be allowed a 25% discount on all the Instituto publications.

The Instituto encourages the development of new clubs, and offers its affiliated members the services of its Bureau of Information. It will help them plan their work, give them advice and suggestions, and assist them in securing posters and other realia.

The club activities are under the direction of **Professor Catherine L. Haymaker**, Adelphi College, Garden City, L. I., N. Y., to whom all communications on the subjects should be addressed.

## Publications

GENERAL EDITOR: ÁNGEL DEL RÍO

### *Literature*

**Desolación.** Poemas de GABRIELA MISTRAL. 248 pages. Paper, \$1.50; Cloth, \$2.25.

**Del camino.** Poesías de JULIO MERCADO. 120 pages. Paper, \$1.00.

**Disciplina y Rebeldía.** Ensayo de FEDERICO DE ONÍS. 51 pages. Paper, \$0.75.

**Versos y oraciones de caminante.** Libro II. Poesías de León Felipe. 104 pages. Paper, \$1.10.

### *Studies*

**The Romantic Dramas of García Gutiérrez.** By NICHOLSON B. ADAMS, Ph.D. 149 pages. Paper, \$1.00. (English)

**Martin Fierro, an Epic of the Argentine.** An analysis of the famous Gaucho poem, by HENRY A. HOLMES, Ph.D. 190 pages. Paper, \$1.00. (English)

**The Supernatural in Early Spanish Literature.** A study of the miraculous episodes in the works of Alfonso X, el Sabio, by FRANK CALLCOTT, Ph.D. 158 pages. Paper, \$1.00. (English)

**Jacinto Benavente.** A critical study by FEDERICO DE ONÍS. 80 pages. Paper, \$0.50. (Spanish)

**Fray Luis de León.** A critical study, by A. LUGAN. 158 pages. Paper, \$1.00. (Spanish)

**Filosofía del Derecho.** A treatise on the philosophy of law, by MARIANO ARAMBURO. Vol. I, 522 pages. Paper, \$3.00. (Spanish)

**¿Hay una filosofía en el Quijote?** By DAVID RUBIO. 168 pages. Paper, \$1.00. (Spanish)

**Lope de Vega's El castigo del discreto.** Together with a Study of Conjugal Honor in his Theater, by WILLIAM L. FICHTER, Ph.D. 280 pages. Paper, \$2.00. (English)

**The Alteration of H and F in Old Spanish.** By JAMES H. ENGLISH, Ph.D. 162 pages. Paper, \$2.00. (English)

**Amado Nervo.** A critical study, by CONCHA MELÉNDEZ. 80 pages. Paper, \$0.50. (Spanish)

**Concepción Arenal.** A biographical and critical study, by RENÉ E. G. VAILLANT, Ph.D. 192 pages. Paper, \$2.00. (French)

**Religión y Estado en la España del Siglo XVI.** By FERNANDO DE LOS RÍOS. 114 pages. Paper, \$1.00. (Spanish)

**The Ciceronian Style in Fr. Luis de Granada.** By REBECCA SWITZER, Ph.D. 159 pages. Paper, \$1.90. (English)

**Longfellow and Spain.** By IRIS LILLIAN WHITMAN, Ph.D. 249 pages. Paper, \$2.60. (English)

**Lope de Vega's El Brasil restituido.** Together with a Study of Patriotism in his Theatre, by GINO DE SOLENNI, Ph.D. 303 pages. Paper, \$2.60. (English)

**Lope de Vega's El desdén vengado.** Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by MABEL MARGARET HARLAN, Ph.D. XLIX-196 pages. Paper, \$2.60. (English)

### *Helps for the Spanish Teacher*

**La enseñanza de lenguas modernas en los Estados Unidos.** Lectures on the historical development and the methods of modern language teaching in the United States, by LAWRENCE A. WILKINS. 169 pages. Paper, \$1.25. (Spanish)

**Lo que se puede aprender en España.** Information and advice prepared for those who are planning to visit Spain, by JOAQUÍN ORTEGA. 8 pages. Paper, \$0.15. (Spanish)

**Cervantes. Cartilla Escolar.** Biography of Cervantes with two selections adapted from *Don Quijote*, by M. ROMERA-NAVARRO. Vocabulary by J. MERCADO. 16 pages. Paper, \$0.10.

**Nuestro futuro diputado.** A farce in three acts suitable for amateur presentation, by SAMUEL A. WOFSEY. 64 pages. Paper, \$0.50. (Spanish)

**Suggestions for Spanish Clubs.** With a list of parliamentary terms in Spanish. 12 pages. Paper, \$0.15.

**Games for Spanish Clubs.** With a bibliography of material for classroom use, by COLLEY E. SPARKMAN, Ph.D. 118 pages. Paper, \$1.00.

**Easy Spanish Books for Children.** By PAULINE L. GOODE. 8 pages. Paper, \$0.25.

*Allow 10% of order for postage.*

*Address orders to:*

INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS  
500 PHILOSOPHY HALL, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
NEW YORK CITY

*or*

CASA EDITORIAL LA LECTURA  
RECOLETOS 25, MADRID, SPAIN

## Membership

The Instituto provides the following types of membership:

### ACTIVE MEMBERS:

*(Including subscription to one of the three following journals: REVISTA DE FILOLOGÍA ESPAÑOLA, LA GACETA LITERARIA, THE ROMANIC REVIEW; one book published by the Instituto during the year for the members; and the privilege of purchasing any of the Instituto Publications at a discount of 25%.)*

In New York and Metropolitan district.....	\$ 7.50
Outside of New York.....	5.00

### ASSOCIATE MEMBERS *(Of New York Branch*

*not receiving publications).....* 5.00

SUSTAINING MEMBERS..... 25.00

LIFE MEMBERS..... 250.00

PATRONS.....1000.00

Anyone interested in Hispanic culture may become a member of the Instituto. Inquiries or remittances should be addressed to

INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS

500 PHILOSOPHY HALL, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,

NEW YORK CITY

Correspondence referring to lecture tours and other international matters should be addressed to

2 WEST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY



PQ6498 V7 Z8 1930

+A study of the d+Sargent, Cecilia



0 00 02 0176786 0

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE

Sargent, Cecilia V.

A study of the dramatic works  
of Cristóbal de Virués.

PQ

6498

V7 Z8

1930

PQ

6498

V7 Z8

1930

Sargent, Cecilia V.

A study of the dramatic  
works of Cristóbal de Virués.

